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Chernyshev on SDI, Violation of ABM Treaty

LD1210220988 Moscow TASS in English 2153 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—By TASS military writer Valdimir Chernyshev

The U.S. Department of Defence plans to form early next year an organization whose tasks will include coordination of the activity connected with tests in outer space. Its functions will, specifically, include the planning of experiments in the framework of ithe SDI programme.

The Pentagon thus intends to take another step on the road of the violation of the Soviet-American ABM Treaty which is the basis for the entire complex of Soviet-American arrangements on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms. The treaty unambiguously prohibits testing space-based systems or components of anti-missile defence. Meanwhile, as is known, the U.S. Department of Defence has already planned for the early nineties tests of space-based anti-missile missiles and a chemical laser on board an orbital platform. The new organization will be an element of a managerial structure aimed at developing elements of a space-based anti-missile defence system.

Another weighty fact will be added to a vast number of violations of the ABM Treaty by the U.S. side which, specifically, includes the creation of large phased-array radars on the territory of the United States, the putting into operation of such a radar outside the United States—in Thule, Greenland, the beginning of the construction of a similar radar at Fylingdales Moor, Britain. If these actions are compared to the SDI programme, they, apparently, can be classed as the first stage of the creation of a large-scale ABM system, its ground-based version testing on the SDI programme in space will be aimed at developing space-based components of a scopeful system of anti-missile defence.

All this attests to the Pentagon's striving to destroy the ABM Treaty. There are no weapons in space now, but the immediate threat of putting weapons into outer space is linked with SDI. And if the United States still begins implementing its SDI project, the USSR, as it was stressed at a high level more than once, will be able to create an asymmetrical, reliable and effective counterbalance to the SDI. But the destruction of the ABM Treaty will bring to nought real positive fruits of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, will undermine the opportunity of concluding agreements on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms, will sharply decrease strategic stability. Those in Washington responsible for decision making should ponder on the consequences of such steps.

PRAVDA Article Discusses Dangers of SDI

PM1210153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Abramov "International Notes": "Computers Starting and Winning?"]

[Text] A robot on a combat satellite records a flash in an area of launch silos. Measuring its intensity, coordinates, and other parameters, computers issue an order to activate space-based weapons. The automatic systems instantly calculate targets' trajectories to determine the so-called "threat cloud," define the most important targets, faultlessly distinguish thousands of warheads from tens of thousands of dummy targets, direct weapons, and check to see that all enemy warheads have been destroyed.

It is approximately at this popular level that the numerous Pentagon brochures promoting the schemes for building a "space shield" are pitched for the general public's consumption.

But what if we are serious and eschew fantasies? Then we would have to say that the implementation of all the above, even with the help of the most productive computers, is impossible. Incidentally, even opponents of SDI agree with this point of view. However, they add: If computer systems of the new fifth generation with artificial intelligence elements are put into space, then...

Thus, the U.S. Defense Department's long-term scientific research planning department came up with a dedicated program—the "strategic computer initiative." It now unites the efforts of government, science, and military business—all those who are inspired by the idea of achieving the strategically important task of creating computer equipment that can see, hear, speak, and manipulate specialized knowledge, and even reason. According to TIME magazine, researchers are being given political and financial support, since some people see the "electronic brain" for an ABM system with space-based elements as a solution to the "Star Wars" problem. Construction has already started in Colorado Springs on a national test center to house the largest collection of supercomputers—230 machines.

What is the practical possibility that these computers' will be able to guarantee that the "space shield" works 100-percent perfectly? After all, only then would the SDI venture be technically justifiable. The U.S. press stresses that not one serious scientist is prepared to give a positive answer to that question. This is why: An automatic ABM control system would have to calculate at a moment's notice the hundreds of millions of operational options for a "space shield." Given this gigantic number of possible situations, mistakes in the planning of combat operations are inevitable even from the scientific standpoint. There will be nobody to correct these mistakes. There can be no question of coordinating the computers' actions with the military leadership because the "star battles" would be too short-lived. So the automatic ABM control system would be separated from the power of human reason.

It is also important to take the following point into account. All of SDI is cemented and reinforced by the program whereby computers make decisions in certain situations. This program is continually being expanded, since the other side is not sitting idly by, but is taking retaliatory measures. As the program is expanded, the relative number of errors in it grows exponentially.

Apart from mistakes, accidents are not ruled out either. Who, for instance, could guarantee that a chance collision between a space-based ABM system's combat or information elements and various artificial objects—not to mention meteorites or cosmic dust—would not trigger retaliation by the robots? The possibility of such collisions should not be downplayed; it is quite high. According to figures provided by Western scientists, up to 15,000 medium-sized and large objects—obsolete spacecraft, fragments from them, the final stages of launchers, heat shields, and much more—are in orbit in space.

Yet it is not just a question of collisions. Remember the incident that took place on 9 June 1987, when a strike of lightning triggered launch mechanisms and resulted in the unplanned launch of three NASA rockets? Other, more unexpected surprises are not ruled out in space. Their consequences could, quite bluntly, be fatal for all mankind.

Thus, the arguments about the possible creation of a "space shield" go on—dying away, then flaring up again. Recently the prestigious U.S. Office of Technology Assessment prepared a report concluding that SDI, as envisaged by the current Washington leadership, "will not be created in the foreseeable future." As for the question of the absolute reliability of computer programs, that will obviously always remain unresolved.

Computers, of course, can start a war. And even win one. But it would be a victory over people and all mankind rather than over enemy missiles.

Colonel Defends Methods of Missile Destruction

PM1210132988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel A. Gutnikov by correspondent Lieutenant V. Polezhayev under the rubric "Implementing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles": "For Reasons of Simplicity and Economy: Why the Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles Are Being Eliminated in One Particular Way in the USSR Rather Than Another"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which seemed only recently to be the subject of difficult summit discussions, is now an actual fact. Shorter-range missiles are being destroyed in the region of Saryozek and intermediate-range missiles are meeting the same fate at the Kapustin Yar range. At Chita and Kansk RSD-10 missiles are being eliminated by the launch method, while R-12 missiles are being eliminated by the cutting method. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has published reports from those sites describing each of the procedures. However, as the editorial mailbag shows, there are quite a few readers who doubt whether we have chosen the best methods of missile destruction. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent V. Polezhayev now discusses this matter with Colonel A. Gutnikov, chief of the missile destruction control center.

[Polezhayev] In essence, many readers' questions boil down to one thing: They believe that the U.S. method of missile destruction is environmentally cleaner and more economical than ours. This is the opinion of L. Kaplin from Sochi, for example, and I. Babiychuk from Kiev.

[Gutnikov] This is the view of people who do not have all the facts. Do they know, for example, that the body of the RSD-10, like its container, is made not from steel or alloy but ... a specially treated and quite tough fiberglass. So there is no cause for alarm about "hundreds of tons of high-quality metal going up in smoke."

The claim that the "U.S. method of missile elimination is the most environmentally clean and economical" is equally unfounded. After all, both here and in America the solid fuel is completely burned up. Combustion products are formed, of course. Our method does not increase the amount of those products in the slightest. A knowledge of high school physics is sufficient to work that out. Painstaking and repeatedly checked scientific research shows that 1 week of daily explosions in the Saryozek region discharges fewer substances and gases of various kinds into the atmosphere than does a conventional test in a month. Each missile explosion, like the elimination process as a whole, is most strictly monitored. The monitoring is conducted by physicians, environmentalists, and many other specialists. Therefore, those individuals who talk about the so-called "environmental strain" occurring when missiles are exploded are simply ill-informed.

[Polezhayev] Nevertheless, the Americans chose the burning method. Why?

[Gutnikov] The method whereby missiles are eliminated is determined mainly by their design. Since the mechanical removal of solid fuel from rocket motors is generally precluded by the tremendous complexity and labor intensity of this process, another, more acceptable option has to be chosen. The Americans prefer to burn up the fuel in their Pershings. But we cannot use their experience, as Comrade S. Dorodeykin from Alushta proposes, because the RSD-10's are quite different in design from the Pershings, and their design characteristics make it necessary to use the explosion method. In this instance it is the most economical.

The intermediate-range missiles being eliminated in our country include R-12's, which run on liquid fuel. Their body is made of metal. But no one considered eliminating them by exploding or launching them. It isn't especially difficult to drain liquid fuel from the missile fuel tanks. That is why the R-12's are not eliminated by being blown up.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already described how this is done. The missile, shorn of its nuclear device and its fuel, is transferred to a special shop where all the elements of the guidance system are removed, as happens with all other types of missiles. Not a single instrument, not a single electronic device, not one gram of valuable metal is wasted; everything is used in the national economy. Then a big tractor trailer transports the missile to the shop where the final dismantling takes place. This is where air-plasma and resistance-arc devices are used to cut the metal. The motor nozzles are removed and the fuel tanks and instrument compartments are separated....

As for the means of transporting missiles of all types and the many types of missile equipment, the term "elimination" should not be taken literally at all. Take, for example, the RSD-10 launcher, a first-class transport facility. The erector-launcher is removed and is later cut up. The six-axle trailer itself is left intact, of course, and is used in the national economy. Cranes with a lifting capacity of around 100 metric tons will be fitted on it, and it will be invaluable at large construction sites, particularly in the remote areas of the far north.

[Polezhayev] Does the cleanliness of the elimination of the missiles depend on the missilemen themselves?

[Gutnikov] It does, to a considerable degree. I have visited all the bases where the intermediate-range missiles are being eliminated and have seen this with my own eyes, so to speak.

Take the Lesnaya base: It has spacious shops and the latest machinery. The U.S.inspectors summed the base up in one word: "Magnificent!" But after working there for a month or two, our missilemen produced a succession of reasonable proposals on the improvement of what seemed already to be absolutely perfect equipment. In the less than 6 months spent preparing the base for operations, the soldiers, NCO's, warrant officers, and officers suggested and implemented around 50 reasonable proposals and inventions. The air-plasma cutting device which they improved has aroused interest among many specialists in the national economy.

Some of the missiles, as is well known, are destroyed by the launch method. Does this cause us certain material losses? Of course it does. But what do we get in return? Invaluable combat experience, and the confidence that each of our missiles is in a state of high combat readiness and perfect technical condition. All the missiles launched at Chita hit the target, as the missilemen say.

The Soviet side's prompt and conscientious implementation of the treaty was also highly praised by U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Michael Hritsik, head of the U.S. inspectorate, and James Bush, director of the U.S. defense information center. Many people recalled the question which one of the U.S. inspectors couldn't help asking during the launching at Chita. Observing the skill and cohesion of our crews' operations and the perfect functioning of the missile hardware that was being eliminated, an inspector suddenly exclaimed: "Don't you regret the loss of these missiles?"

What answer could you give him? He himself understood perfectly that the treaty is a path to a nuclear-free world, a path which we are taking together.

Pact Defense Ministers To Meet in Prague

LD1210180488 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty defence ministers' committee will hold a regular meeting in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, in the second half of October, it has been officially announced here.

PRAVDA on CEMA Executive Meeting

PM1210112388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "CEMA Executive Committee Session"]

[Text] The 129th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Moscow 10-11 October.

The following representatives took part in the session: A. Lukanov of the Bulgarian People's Republic; J. Marjai of the Hungarian People's Republic; Tran Duc Luong of the SRV; G. Kleiber of the GDR; A. Esquival of the Republic of Cuba; M. Peljee of the Mongolian People's Republic; W. Gwiazda of the Polish People's Republic; S. Andrei of the Socialist Republic of Romania; N. Talyzin of the USSR; J. Kopecky of the CSSR; and CEMA Secretary V. Sychev.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, J. Panajotovic, SFRY permanent representative to CEMA, took part in the Executive Committee's work.

The session was chaired by A. Lukanov, representative of the Bulgarian People's Republic on the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee session discussed primarily questions concerning the implementation of decisions made by the 43d (extraordinary) and 44th sittings of the CEMA session on restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation between CEMA countries and socialist economic integration.

Consultations were held during the Executive Committee session on the development prospects of mutual cooperation between CEMA countries through the year 2000 and on possible ways to intensify the social orientation of that cooperation in the interest of better satisfying the needs of the population in community countries. The views expressed by the countries' representatives on this question will be taken into account in the process of coordinating national economic plans and in work on restructuring the cooperation mechanism.

The Executive Committee discussed questions of improving and enhancing the efficiency of the settlement and credit mechanism in transferable rubles. The measures taken in this context by the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank are geared to improving credit planning and providing more effective incentives for settlement and payment discipline.

The CEMA Permanent Commission for Currency and Finance was instructed, jointly with the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank, to continue work in this sphere.

There was an examination of questions concerning the elaboration of settlement and credit instruments providing incentives for the development of direct links between economic organizations and for the creation and activity of joint enterprises by interested countries. Particular importance was attached to the strengthening of the transferable ruble's monetary functions and the creation of economic prerequisites for using the national currencies of interested countries in mutual settlements.

The Executive Committee examined the results of work on the improvement of settlements in the construction of projects through joint efforts by interested countries. It was deemed necessary to continue this work, bearing in mind the results of improvements in the methodology of price formation in mutual trade.

The Executive Committee approved a new edition of the "General Conditions for Commodity Deliveries Between CEMA Countries' Organizations" which orientates these organizations toward enhanced responsibility for honoring contract commitments.

There was an exchange of opinions on the implementation of the general agreement on multilateral cooperation in the utilization of natural gas as motor fuel. It was noted that, as a result of cooperation, various types of equipment have been developed and production of some of them is being assimilated. The countries' representatives on the Executive Committee spoke in favor of expanding and galvanizing cooperation so as to solve the problems arising in this sphere.

There was examination of proposals on information services for economic organizations, enterprises, and research institutes in CEMA countries engaged in cooperation on the basis of direct ties. The information service envisaged within the framework of the general information system of chambers of trade and commerce and using the International Center for Scientific and Technical Information—now being created by the interested countries—covers questions of the economic, foreign economic, and legal aspects of direct ties.

In connection with the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, the Executive Committee discussed the prospects for cooperation between them.

Proposals were prepared for the development of mutually advantageous ties, to be subsequently discussed with EEC representatives. The importance of implementing these proposals in the context of pan-European cooperation was also noted.

The Executive Committee approved the CEMA budget for 1989.

The Executive Committee session proceeded in an atmosphere of frank exchange of opinions, friendship, and comradely cooperation.

Petrovskiy Meets U.S. Official, Others at UN

PM0710131788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] New York, 6 Oct—V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, had meetings on 5 October with Wong Kan Seng, Singapore's foreign minister, and Ahmad ibn Sayf al-Thani, Qatari minister of state for foreign affairs.

During the Soviet-Singapore meeting, Wong Kan Seng's attention was drawn to the new Soviet initiative concerning the Asia-Pacific region expounded in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk. When discussing the Cambodia situation and the prospects for settling it, there emerged a coincidence of views on the need to resolve the Cambodian problem by political means with consideration for the positions of all interested parties.

The exchange of opinions with the Qatari foreign minister mainly touched on questions linked with the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict based on the fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 598 and with ensuring security in the Persian Gulf region.

During both conversations, the desire to develop bilateral contacts and mutually advantageous cooperation was expressed.

On the same day V.F. Petrovskiy held consultations with R. Williamson, U.S. assistant secretary of state, at which they discussed ways and means of boosting the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and Soviet-U.S. cooperation on related questions.

A conversation also took place with M. Strong, president of the UN World Federation of Relief Agencies, during which questions of creating a commission of prominent public figures to study global security were examined.

Petrovskiy on Soviet Stand on Ecological Issues

LD1210093488 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 12 TASS— The Soviet Union's ratification of the 1987 Montreal protocol on ozone-destroying substances is another concrete sign of the Soviet Union's responsible approach to ecological problems. USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said this here at a news conference on Tuesday [11 October]. Together with the 1985 Vienna convention this protocol lays down a basis in the context of international law for the solution of one of the most important global problems of the present. He said that of particular importance is the preventive nature of such measures adopted at a stage when negative changes in the environment have not yet assumed a catastrophic nature.

In the Soviet Union's opinion the importance and topicality of the ensurance of ecological security is second in importance only to the removal of nuclear menace in the struggle for the survival of humanity. We are of the opinion, the deputy minister said, that in case of the abandonment of certain military programmes that have been planned or are already being implemented, the funds saved could be used for the creation of an international regime of ecological safety. In this connection it is expedient to consider the question of setting up an international fund of ecological safety.

The global nature of ecological problems requires global solutions meeting the interests of the world community. Therefore, in the Soviet Union's opinion an international mechanism for decision making on urgent global problems, above all economic and ecological problems, should be created precisely in the United Nations framework. The USSR supports the United Nations environment programme and proposes to discuss the question of creating on its basis an ecological council capable of taking effective decisions on the ensurance of ecological security. It is proposed to hold a consistent cycle of emergency meetings under the United Nations auspices to coordinate the efforts in the area of ecological security: to hold in 1989 a conference of experts on terrestrial health, to hold in 1990 a summit of 15-20 countries of all continents with the participation of Non-Aligned Movement and a second international conference of the United Nations on environment and development, not in 1992, as planned, but earlier and at a summit level without fail.

There is a need for the adoption of obligatory principles and norms of conduct of states, and also for determining fundamental trends of international cooperation in the ecological area. The deputy minister said that the USSR is prepared to fully adhere to such norms.

The USSR deputy foreign minister said that it is intolerable that a delay should make the dangerous tendencies in the ecological area irreversible. Joint and purposeful actions should be taken now.

He expressed the hope that a decisive step toward ensuring ecological security be made at the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly. Answering questions from newsmen, the USSR deputy foreign minister said that the Soviet Union is prepared to participate on an international basis in various projects helping to avert ecological catastrophies on earth.

UN Representative on Aid to Afghanistan

LD1210215888 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 13 TASS—Speaking at a conference on aid to Afghanistan, the USSR's permanent representative at the United Nations A. Belonogov said that the Soviet Union's special position as Afghanistan's neighbour makes for its special place in rendering bilateral aid to that country. It has always been of major dimensions and for its volume held an important place in that country's economic life under all governments.

The USSR accounted for over 75 per cent of the total volume of foreign aid to Afghanistan in the past 35 years. A long-term programme of economic, technical and trade cooperation for a period of up to 2000 was signed in September 1988 to promote further development of Afghanistan's economy with the USSR's assistance. The aim of the program is to deepen and concretize long-term cooperation.

Rendering major bilateral economic and humanitarian aid to its neighbour, the USSR meanwhile intends to take an active part in international efforts in that area, said the Soviet representative. From the very beginning our country supported the initiative of the U.N. secretary general and the coordinator's steps. The humane character of the U.N. aid is bound to promote, the USSR believes, establishment of peace on Afghanistan's soil and creation of conditions for refugees and displaced persons to return to native places.

A. Belonogov set forth the main areas of the USSR's participation in the U.N. programmes of rendering humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan. First, this aid will be rendered as free-of-charge deliveries from the USSR of consumer goods, including food, clothing, footwear, underwear, medicines, school things, fabrics, etc. Second, assistance will be given in the form of free-of-charge deliveries from the USSR of equipment and materials for establishing projects in different branches of the economy in accordance with U.N. programmes. Third, consumer goods are planned to be delivered to provinces and cities of Afghanistan directly by the USSR's republics, regions and cities. Fourth, an important element of our participation in the U.N. programmes on Afghanistan is the readiness to carry transit cargoes of international aid on the USSR's territory to the frontier of Afghanistan and to put at the coordinator's disposal the money thus earned.

The situation in Afghanistan remains difficult. The country continues living in conditions of war and unending armed interference from outside. This is taking place against the background of precise compliance by the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan of the obligations undertaken under the Geneva agreements. We believe that frustration of the Geneva agreements might most adversely affect the U.N. plans of rendering humanitarian and economic aid to the long-suffering people of that country. Disruption of agreements might entail unpredicted negative consequences to stability not only in that region of the world, but also possibly far beyond it.

Soviet Contribution Praised

LD1310062888 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 13 TASS—The donors' meeting for humanitarian and economic programme relating to Afghanistan opened at the United Nations headquarters today. The announcement of the Soviet Government's decision to participate in the United Nations programmes in addition to programmes of bilateral aid has been a most important event, coordinator of these programmes Sadruddin Aga Khan said at a news conference convened here. He chaired the news conference. The total sum of Soviet participation makes up over 600 million dollars at the current dollar rate.

Aga Khan emphasised that this aid will be supplied through the United Nations coordinator and is meant for all provinces of Afghanistan. He had to leave the meeting to announce this news. He said the Soviet Union has made the biggest contribution to date in reply to the call of the United Nations secretary-general for humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan.

Soviet Delegates Speak at UN Committees

'Preservation of Colonialism' Hit

LD0710173988 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 7 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly should firmly demand that an end be put to military activity at all remaining colonial territories, since it is contrary to the U.N. Charter and the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

This was stated by Dmitriy Bykov, a representative of the Soviet Union, who was speaking on Thursday in the course of the discussion under way at the fourth committee (trusteeship and non-selfgoverning territories) of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The preservation of colonialism at our time is attributed, above all, he said, to the economic and military interests of imperialist states and transnational corporations which plunder local resources, inflict an irreparable damage to the environment, undermine the material foundations of development of non-selfgoverning territories and the well-being of the peoples which inhabit them.

Namibia provides an example of that. 60 per cent of its fertile lands have been taken over and are being used exclusively by the white minority, while the African population have been divided by the tribal principle and herded to 10 isolated homelands. Concessions have been granted to foreign economic circles for unrestrained extraction of Namibian minerals.

Over 2,000 transnational corporations and their subsidiaries, now functioning on trust territories, are undermining the process of decolonization. This was noted in the speeches by representatives of Kuwait, GDR, Libya, Zambia, Pakistan, Tunisia. The bossing of transnational corporations suppresses the development of the national economies, turns these territories into raw material appendages.

The cause of special anxiety of the international community is military activity of the powers which govern the trust territories.

Using force for suppressing popular resistance, the Republic of South Africa continues the illegal the-world-over-denounced occupation of Namibia, commits aggressive actions against independent African countries.

Namibia has become a prison, with a South African soldier keeping aim at 10-12 civilians.

Military strong points, test ranges, arms depots are being established on colonial territories. A third of Guam's territory is used for military purposes. There are 368 nuclear warheads deployed, and also a Strategic Air Command test range. At Pacific islands the governing power retains test ranges for rocketry tests, naval bases and other military structures.

The participants in the discussion, which is under way at the fourth committee, are denouncing the deployment of military bases on colonial territories, continued military presence, which, in their unanimous opinion, runs counter to the mounting tendency of ensuring comprehensive, equal-for-all international security.

U.S. Travel Restrictions Criticized

LD1310055488 Moscow TASS in English 2359 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 13 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov reports:

The U.N. Committee on Relations With the Host Country, at a meeting on Wednesday, considered the issue of illegal actions by the United States with regard to staff members of the missions of several socialist and other countries at the United Nations.

Representatives of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union said at the meeting that discriminatory actions by U.S. authorities were directed against staff members of the diplomatic missions of a growing number of states.

After the United States introduced travel restrictions for members of the missions of the USSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Cuba, Vietnam, Afghanistan and a number of other states, similar actions were taken against diplomats of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, quite recently, Romania and Hungary.

The travel restrictions were applied also to citizens of those states working at the U.N. Secretariat.

Soviet representative Dmitriy Bykov described the U.S. actions as "illegal and selective, that is discriminatory, which runs counter to one of the basic principles proclaimed by the U.N. Charter—the principle of the sovereign equality of all its nations".

These actions, he went on, contradicted agreements between the United Nations and the United States.

"The current 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly points out practically unanimously that the United Nations is entering a stage which can be described as its renaissance," Bykov said.

"The interest in the growth of its role and efficiency is becoming universal."

Headway on this road depends, not in the last place, on the ensuring by the host country of a "favourable atmosphere for normal functioning of the U.N. and missions accredited to it", as is stipulated by corresponding agreements, he said.

The Soviet representative pointed out that the creation of such conditions apparently presupposed cancellation of all illegal moves with regard to diplomats of U.N. missions and staff members of the U.N. Secretariat.

Nuclear Threat Discussed

LD1210233988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Excerpts] New York, 12 Oct (TASS)—At the 43d UN General Assembly session, its special political committee began work by discussing the effect of atomic radiation. [passage omitted]

The danger to the environment, to life itself on our planet inherent in nuclear weapons which harbor the threat of global devastation, as a result of the planned use, mistake or accident, insistently demands the stepping up of joint actions by all states, international organizations and the public, S.N. Smirnov, USSR representative, noted during the discussion which got under way on the draft resolution.

This very day, on the eve of mankind's entry into the 3d millenium, the time has come to draw institutions within the UN system more deeply into defending and preserving the environment and the peaceful use of the achievements of science and technology for the good of all states, and into ensuring nuclear disarmament including drawing up a universal accord on ceasing and banning nuclear tests.

Talks Held at UN on Angola, Iran-Iraq

PM1210115788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "The United Nations: Disinformation by THE NEW YORK TIMES"]

[Text] Havana, 11 Oct—Carlos Aldana, head of the Cuban delegation at the quadripartite talks on reaching a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa, had a meeting on Monday with Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations. He informed the UN head about the results of the unofficial consultations held in New York within the framework of the talks between Cuba, Angola, the RSA, and the United States.

In a conversation with journalists, C. Aldana said that the consultations had "revealed differences between the sides and a great distance between their positions." He expressed surprise in connection with a report published by THE NEW YORK TIMES claiming that an accord had been reached at the talks on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which are there at the request of the government of that African country. This information is far from the truth, C. Aldana said, emphasizing that the withdrawal must be carried out properly, with Angolan security interests definitely taken into account.

The Cuban representative said that, although a date for the next quadripartite meeting has not been set, the negotiation process has not been interrupted.

The UN Security Council has held closed consultations, addressed by UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar.

According to the news agencies, he informed the members of the Security Council about the results of his recent visit to the RSA and Angola and about the talks held last week with the Iranian and Iraqi foreign ministers. In his opinion, the talks on the Iran-Iraq conflict have been useful, although progress at these talks is still too slow. Perez de Cuellar said that he intends to continue his meetings with the two countries' ministers in Geneva at the end of October.

Rogachev on Vladivostok Seminar, PRC Ties

OW0810093188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] An international seminar on peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region was held recently in Vladivostok. The Soviet Foreign Ministry gave a press conference on the seminar for Soviet and foreign reporters. Following is a report filed by our station reporter Solovyev.

At the press conference, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev expressed the profound belief that the Vladivostok seminar would help people in the Asia-Pacific region better understand the aims and tasks of Soviet policy toward the region.

He said: The Soviet program on the new thinking, put forward for the first time in Vladivostok more than 2 years ago, has inspired the people and governments of the region to seek ways and means of consolidating peace and cooperation in Asia, and this program has been further substantiated by the Soviet leader's recent speech in Krasnoyarsk. The latest 7-point proposal by the Soviet Union is further evidence that its foreign policy is oriented toward the Asia-Pacific region. During the Vladivostok seminar, with participants from 36 countries in the region, we once again witnessed the overall strong response from the region toward the Krasnoyarsk proposal aimed at limiting and reducing military activities in the region. We are pleased with this response from the governments of most of the countries in the region. I especially wish to emphasize that Beijing has positively assessed the latest Soviet proposal.

Rogachev continued, saying: All this has convinced us that the Krasnoyarsk proposal will exert a positive influence on promoting peace in the Asia-Pacific region.

In reply to a foreign reporter's question about Soviet-Chinese relations, Rogachev said: Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen will visit the Soviet Union before the end of this year. Shortly after his visit, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will pay a reciprocal visit. We believe the exchange of visits will bring about an accord on a Soviet-Chinese summit.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev emphasized: China is our neighbor. Naturally, we hope to establish friendly and good-neighborly relations with China. The Chinese side has said that relations should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. We concur with the Chinese side on this.

World Leaders Greet Gorbachev on Election

Lao, Iraqi Leaders' Messages

PM0710104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Greetings Telegrams to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Excerpts] In connection with his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is continuing to receive telegrams from the world's party and state figures.

Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR]

Council of Ministers; Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the LPDR; and Sisomphon Lovansai, acting president of the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly, write:

"On behalf of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly and Council of Ministers, and the multinational Lao people, we cordially congratulate you on your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This is evidence of the great trust by the supreme organ of state power and the entire Soviet people and a mandate to fulfill the responsible mission of leader of the Soviet state—the motherland of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"We are firmly convinced that your rich experience and abilities and knowledge accumulated over decades of revolutionary activity will help you successfully head the leadership of the CPSU and the Land of the Soviets for the USSR's steady advance along the course of restructuring for the benefit of Soviet people and the world socialist system. The Lao people assess highly your vigorous activity in the creative development of Lenin's peace-loving foreign policy course, which is expressed in the major realistic initiatives and important practical steps to curb the arms race, reduce international tension, cut back arms, and eliminate the danger of nuclear war in the interests of ensuring the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of all states of the planet.

"We are satisfied at the high level of traditional relations of fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between Laos and the Soviet Union and we hope that relations between our parties, countries, and peoples based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continue to strengthen and develop in the interests of the Lao and Soviet peoples and the cause of peace and socialism.

"We wish you good health and remarkable successes in your honorable and responsible activity." [passage omitted]

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolution Command Council, writes in his telegram:

"In connection with your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, it gives me pleasure to convey to you on my own behalf and on behalf of the members of the Revolution Command Council and regional leadership of the Ba'th Party the most sincere congratulations and wishes for successes in your new post.

"We take this opportunity to confirm our desire to continue to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union based on the friendship and cooperation treaty in the interests of our countries and for the establishment of security, stability, and a just peace in our region and throughout the world.

"We wish you health and happiness." [passage omitted]

In his congratulatory telegram, U.S. President Ronald Reagan writes;

"Esteemed Mr Chairman,

"I learned with pleasure of your assumption of the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I ask you to accept my cordial congratulations.

"The American people hope for the continuation of the process of dialogue you and I have established aimed at consistent progress toward a stable, more peaceful, and more secure world." [passage omitted]

FRG Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher writes:

"Esteemed Mr Chairman,

"I send you my best wishes in connection with your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"You know from our talks that our country is following your policy of political reforms with great attention and sympathy.

"I wish you great successes in this direction and in your responsible new capacity for the benefit of Soviet people and in the interests of relations between our countries." [passage omitted]

Dos Santos, Chissano, Husayn Greetings

*PM1110083588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Greetings Telegrams to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] "I have the honor on behalf of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Central Committee, the Angolan Government, and myself," Jose Eduardo dos Santos, general secretary of the MPLA and president of Angola, writes, "to convey to you our ardent congratulations on the occasion of your election to the Soviet state's supreme post.

"Your election inspires confidence in the affirmation of the new political thinking that is gathering force in the course of restructuring and imparting new dynamism to the development of Soviet society.

"I take this opportunity to once again express our desire to strengthen the ties of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation uniting our peoples, parties, and governments in the future in the interests of mankind's peace and progress."

Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and president of Mozambique, writes:

"It was with a sense of profound satisfaction that we received the news of your election to the lofty post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"On this historic occasion I send you, esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, our ardent fraternal congratulations on behalf of the Mozambican people, the Frelimo Central Committee, the People's Assembly Permanent Commission, and myself.

"The trust and respect that the Soviet people have once again expressed in you attests to their recognition of the dynamism and selflessness, so worthy of emulation, with which you work for the cause of socialism in the USSR. The considerable results achieved by the Soviet people in the struggle to build a flourishing socialist society have been tremendously developed in the course of the transformations implemented in your country recently. Under your wise leadership, the Soviet people are attaining great victories in the struggle for progress that are today embodied in major economic, social, and cultural achievements and in the constant improvement of all Soviet working people's living conditions.

"That is why the Soviet people are rightfully proud of their beloved leader—Comrade Gorbachev—who is the embodiment of the Soviet people's supreme virtues and a true and unbending fighter for the implementation of the noblest aspirations of the Soviet people and the peoples of the entire planet—peace, prosperity, and social well-being.

"We are convinced that the work of the broad masses of the USSR's working people will bring more and greater successes in the fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions.

"We are also convinced that our traditional fruitful relations of fraternal friendship, combat solidarity, and cooperation will continue to expand for the good of our two peoples.

"Please accept, Comrade Gorbachev, our sincere wishes for good health, long life, and further great success in fulfilling your new work commitments." [passage omitted]

King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan writes:

"I send Your Excellency ardent greetings and best wishes. I am delighted to send you cordial congratulations from myself and on behalf of the government and people of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the occasion of your unanimous election as president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"I am glad to tell Your Excellency that we see your promotion to the loftiest post in the Soviet Union's leadership as a beacon of hope for all peoples of the world, pointing to confident advance along the path of progress and peaceful coexistence in a world based on security and stability and free from death-dealing weapons of destruction.

"I am also glad to note in this connection your noble initiative, which has received a worthy assessment throughout the world, for the sake of promoting the cause of universal peace and nuclear disarmament, settling regional problems, and relaxing international tension.

"We in Jordan express our gratitude and thanks to you for your responsible position in support of the legitimate Arab cause and above all the solution of the Palestinian problem. We also value your support for the convocation of an international peace conference on the Near East in the interest of achieving a just, all-embracing, and stable peace in the region and settling the Palestinian problem in all its aspects on the basis of international law and the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination in their homeland. We hope the Near East problem will occupy a priority place among the regional problems on the agenda of talks between the great powers and that worthy attention will be devoted to it in order to ensure the triumph of the cause of world peace and the peoples' hope for development and progress in conditions of peace and stability.

"In conclusion, allow me to take this opportunity to recall our meeting last December on the territory of your great country and the good impressions that this visit left in my heart. My strongest impression is the depth of the friendship linking our countries and the prospects for bilateral cooperation, which we can attain for the sake of our friendly countries and peoples.

"I wish you personally, Your Excellency, good health and happiness, success, and good fortune in your affairs, and I wish the great Soviet Union further progress and prosperity under your leadership.

"Peace and blessing to you." [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

U.S. Nuclear Test Planned for 13 Oct

LD1210083788 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 12 TASS—A regular test of a U.S. nuclear device will be continued at the Nevada test site on Thursday, October 13, the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency reported.

The detonation codenamed Dalhart will become the eleventh announced test in 1988 and the 686th one since 1951.

The nuclear device is to be detonated at a depth of approximately 700 metres.

Progress of Soviet-U.S. Computer Venture

LD1210094888 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—The first year of operation of the Soviet-U.S. joint venture Dialog is expected to bring not less than 30 million roubles in profits, Director General Petr Zrelov told Soviet newsmen today.

The joint venture was set up late last year by the Kama Autoworks, the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute and the Institute of Space Research under the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Moscow State University, the Soviet association Vneshtechnika, and the U.S. Management Partnership International.

Zrelov said that the main field of Dialog's work would be exporting most diverse programs for computers, above all to the United States.

Dialog has already signed its first contracts with leading U.S. software producers.

It also distributed among American clients a catalogue of about 170 programs offered for export.

The receipts are used to buy foreign-made components for making personal computers in the Soviet Union. The first 300 components have already been shipped to Soviet consumers.

U.S. Reader Decries Capitalism as 'Predator'

PM1010095188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 Second Edition p 6

[Letter from U.S. reader Robert W. Smith under the rubric "Letter With Foreign Postmark: "'Predator Called Capitalism"']

[Text] Bethel, United States—I have been impelled to write this letter by the ideology of the predator they call capitalism.

In our society the customer is constantly obliged to pay for the errors and stupidity of the capitalists who manage our affairs. And this burden is always felt most by the poor, irrespective of whether they work or not.

In the past 8 years we have descended to conditions which should be considered worse than slavery. Many of the working poor cannot pay even for basic needs like food and housing. Yesterday's slaves at least had housing and food. Their owners understood that a sick and hungry slave is not very productive. But today (and to an increasing degree) if you want to get any work at all you have to be satisfied with less than a slave.

This is to the capitalist's advantage, because it enables him to exploit our basic needs to satisfy his greed. It is to his advantage that the working man should be poor—otherwise he could not live as a parasite and derive advantage from others' heavy, exhausting labor. Nonetheless we call ourselves God's nation, although in fact exploitation undoubtedly contradicts God. And this obviously attests to our hypocrisy.

I have been called a Communist because I have expressed myself in defense of the working man's rights. I said that the working man should have the opportunity to meet his needs, at least modestly, through his labor. That was what I was called by those who believe that a wage earner should be grateful simply for being given work while they themselves profit from it, even if the wage earner dies in poverty. That is the thinking of capitalists among whom, however sad it is for me to say this, we must include U.S. farmers. The farmers with whom I have dealt curse the working class, although the working class is a customer for the farmers' output and consequently their breadwinner. It is the same old capitalism in its classic manifestation.

I am glad to see that you have become more open in everything affecting your society. This enables the U.S. people to get to know you better and not to rely on the propaganda lies which our government has been feeding us in recent years. And I am glad to see that you are giving your people the opportunity to have their say, to voice their views without fear of persecution.

But do not allow your people to be fooled by our so-called freedom of speech. I have been subjected to physical violence and threats from my fellow Americans just for daring to voice my opinion. I must also add that in our country there is the "freedom" to deny all those who call things by their name the rights stipulated in the constitution to equal opportunity, the acquisition of happiness, and tranquillity, if the Department of Justice adheres to a different opinion. I have experienced this for myself. These people mock freedom. Taking advantage of absolute power, they have the opportunity to ignore the law to such an extent that it becomes its opposite and there ensues anarchy, to which we are in fact coming close.

I hope that you will continue your good undertakings, but will not repeat our mistakes and will remain free of the despotic beast called capitalism which destroys everything in its path, that is that you will remain freer people. Having become confused, we have decided that exploitation is not only something entirely acceptable but virtually a sign of freedom. Living under the slogan "do what seems good for you," we have forgotten that what is good for one person may be bad for another. Thus, in our search for freedom we have denied freedom to many people. Do not become an egotistic and egocentric society as we have become in our search for ways of improvement. Always think about your people, after all they are your country.

Suggest to our leaders that they should regard all people as equal and worthy of concern, even the working class. Because something wrong is happening to us when we believe that we must resort to the slavery of part of the population to make our country great.

I simply cannot understand how we can consider our form of democracy to be so great when we have to force it down everyone's throat. We say that everyone has the right to do with himself what he wants and then we use our power to overthrow other governments when they do not want to be our puppets. And we use any tactic we consider necessary irrespective of how far it contradicts our allegedly democratic process.

As our correspondence to your country is opened and read, I am taking a risk: I hope that this letter will somehow slip through unnoticed.

I would like you to invite all unemployed and homeless Americans who want to work and do not agree with being considered the social dregs, as they are here, to come to your country and have an opportunity to find their way out of the garbage heap of society.

As for your dissidents who want to leave, let them leave. Perhaps it will be better for you if you let them go to America and thus get rid of them. Ultimately America welcomes with open arms those who prefer to exploit their fellow citizens. That is the habit of capitalism. As for your reluctance to release those who have access to state secrets, you are not alone in that. I too have been ordered not to travel to unfriendly countries, especially Soviet bloc countries, because I have been in military service.

You may use my letter as you see fit. If it can be of any benefit I shall be glad to suffer any persecutions it may entail.

[signed] Robert W. Smith.

Northeast Asia

Mongolian Leader Cited on Regional Policy
PM1110140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Oct—The talks with W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, confirmed that Poland and Mongolia rate highly the proposals advanced in Krasnoyarsk by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This was stated at a news conference in Wroclaw by J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, who is paying an official friendly visit to Poland. He emphasized that these proposals are of tremendous significance for strengthening peace in the world and are linked to a significant degree with the realization of the program which the Soviet leader advanced in Vladivostok 2 years ago and also with the Delhi declaration.

The Mongolian leader pointed out that there are many disputed problems in the Asia and Pacific region which must be resolved by peaceful means alone. Therefore Mongolia, which warmly supports all peace initiatives concerning this region, seeks to make a real contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace. Mongolia advocates the development of good-neighborly relations with all countries in the spirit of the Soviet proposals, which are of tremendous significance for Asia. The first positive steps have already been taken in the direction of resolving the Afghan problem, ending the Iran-Iraq war, and also settling the Cambodian problem.

The Nonaligned Movement, which Mongolia has supported since it came into being, carries out vigorous activity aimed at eliminating wars and conflicts and creating a new economic order, J. Batmonh pointed out. At the recent Nicosia conference of nonaligned countries' foreign ministers Mongolia participated in that forum for the first time as an observer, and it intends to continue involving itself energetically in the Nonaligned Movement's activities.

Mongolian Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow
PM1210160988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Mongolian Foreign Minister T. Gombosuren stopped over in Moscow on 9-10 October on his way home from New York, where he had been taking part in the work of the 43d UN General Assembly session.

There was a friendly meeting between I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and T. Gombosuren.

Soviet, Japanese Scientists To Study Trade Links

PM1210135388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 3

[Vladimir Solovyev "Commentator's Column": "Eye to the Future"]

[Text] There is good news from Tokyo. A bilateral agreement has been signed as a result of the talks here between the delegation from the Scientific Research Institute for Foreign Economic Ties and the Japanese Association for the Promotion of Trade with the USSR and the European Socialist Countries (SOTOBO). Its aim is to draw up in the next 2 years a scientifically substantiated strategy for developing economic ties between our two countries for the period up to the year 2000. The sides agreed to deepen cooperation and expressed interest in expanding dialogue, carrying out comprehensive scientific research, exchanging delegations of experts, and holding consultations, scientific conferences, and symposiums on a regular basis.

Against a backdrop of major international meetings, treaties, and agreements the news of this cooperation between scientists would seem to be just an individual fact without global importance. But behind it stands a large problem. And, actually, is not the entire world made up of a chain of individual facts and events rather like a multicolored mosaic of small fragments?

The extensive range of initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev during his trip to Krasnoyarsk is having a beneficial impact on Asia's public and business circles and is promoting the creation of a new atmosphere for the expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The telegram from Tokyo just confirms that this is a growing trend.

The paths of development taken by the two systems—the capitalist and socialist systems—inevitably intersect. Both systems cooperate within the framework of the same human civilization, although each of them also develops according to its own laws. This means that we cannot develop in isolation from each other. Time itself demands mutually advantageous dialogue that takes account of each side's long-term interests. It is good that scientists able to evaluate and map out prospects for further progress are involved in this work.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Moscow Notes Hun Sen Interview With French Daily

BK1310084288 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Alekseyev Commentary]

[Text] Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, recently granted an interview to a Paris newspaper, QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS. Our observer, Comrade Alekseyev, writes:

First of all, I would like to draw your attention to the importance that Comrade Hun Sen attached to the settlement of the international aspects of the Cambodian problem. In his interview to this Paris newspaper, the comrade noted that this must be done under the current prevailing situation. The solution to the international aspects of the Cambodian problem will be favorable to the settlement of some aspects of the internal problem, such as the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and, later on, the guarantee that the Pol Pot regime would not be allowed to return to power in Cambodia while the outside assistance to the Khmer Rouge must be ceased. There is no problem regarding the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia. Half of the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn before the end of this year and all the remaining troops will be withdrawn from Cambodia by the beginning of 1990. The Cambodian and Vietnamese leaders have time and again reiterated this.

The only remaining problem is the foreign aid to the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge have launched operations against the government forces of the PRK from bases in Thai territory. Does the Thai Government, which has repeatedly announced its desire to coexist as a good neighbor with Cambodia, want to stop allowing the Khmer Rouge use of Thai territory in launching activities against the PRK? Unfortunately, this problem remains an open-ended question.

Observers in Southeast Asia have claimed that many things depend on China.

In his interview to the French newspaper, Comrade Hun Sen stressed: Phnom Penh is ready to cooperate with Samdech Sihanouk's group. Our common opposition to the Khmer Rouge is a major condition for such a cooperation.

This seems to be very significant. As recalled by Comrade Hun Sen, preventing the revival of the genocidal regime and the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia are two important principles for the settlement of the problem.

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk is a politician who wields great influence within the Cambodian circles abroad. Cooperation between Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Phnom Penh might help ward off the danger of the genocidal regime's revival in Cambodia, for this regime has been strongly condemned by all mankind.

Cambodia's 'Bright Future' of Peace Approaches

BK1310051288 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Station political observer (Sergey Gazulov) commentary]

[Text] Speaking recently in Krasnoyarsk, Soviet leader Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev noted that great progress has been made to normalize the situation around the Cambodian problem. Our political observer, Comrade (Sergey Gazulov), writes:

The strengthening of the PRK's international stand takes place along with the normalization of the situation around the Cambodian problem. A year ago, opposing Cambodian groups flatly refused to negotiate with Phnom Penh. People then thought even Buddha could not force opposing Cambodian groups to change their mind. But that was past history.

The truth is since then there have been talks between Comrade Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the opposing Cambodian groups, and the informal meeting of four Cambodian groups in Bogor. These are brilliant and concrete victories of the efforts of Cambodia and Vietnam, Indonesia, and a number of ASEAN countries. The undeniable development in Cambodia, which has become the basis of the country's foreign policy and has heightened Cambodia's international prestige, also contributed to this. Over a brief period of 10 years, this country has been revived after the bloody Pol Pot regime. Cambodia has eliminated the threat of famine, restored and built schools and hospitals, and ensured a bright future for the Cambodian children. Cambodia has set up an army which is capable of countering the threat of guerrillas' armed forces. All this has dashed the futile hope of opposing Cambodian groups of committing aggression against and usurping people's power. This victory has also determined the only possibility in solving the Cambodian problem. It should be a political solution.

Attention paid to achieving this goal has greatly strengthened the PRK's international stand. The PRK has official relations with more than 40 countries and national liberation movements. People the world over increasingly realize who are the genuine representatives of the Cambodian people's interests. The Cambodian people, like the Mekong River's current, cannot be reversed. The Cambodian people are getting nearer to their bright future, namely long-lasting peace.

Heng Samrin Sends Congratulations to Gorbachev

PM1210091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Greetings Telegrams to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Excerpt] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has received telegrams from heads of state and government in connection with his election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and chairman of the PRK Council of State, writes:

"Esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev!

"I send sincerest congratulations and warm fraternal greetings on your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"Your election to this post attests to the Soviet people's confidence in and high assessment of your activity as leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, which is making enormous physical and spiritual efforts to implement the restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's socioeconomic life in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. These decisions were further developed and fleshed out at subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and particularly at the 19th all-union party conference, which worked out a range of urgent measures to implement the reform of the Soviet political system.

"The KPRP, the PRK Government, and the Cambodian people unreservedly support all the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy actions, including the initiatives put forward in Krasnoyarsk 16 September, which are a new contribution to the struggle to strengthen confidence and bring about peaceful coexistence and the improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and worldwide.

"I am convinced that, under the leadership of the party and state which you head, the entire Soviet people will successfully fulfill the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

"Please accept, esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, my sincerest revolutionary greetings." [passage omitted]

Western Aid Cited as Cause of Burmese Hardship

BK1310082388 Moscow in Burmese to Burma
1030 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov Commentary: "Who Is To Blame for the Economic Hardships in Burma?]

[Text] One does not have to examine the account books to understand the economic situation in Burma today. It will become evident just by going out and buying something on the streets. The spiraling prices in Burma today even surprise someone who's only been away from that country for 2 years. Whatever the situation may be, let's examine here how Western news agencies sum up the economic hardships in Burma today. There is a reason for this.

Although these news agencies write about the hardships being faced by Burma from all angles, they are reluctant to discuss the real reasons of how they came about. Western journalists are seen trying to arrive at just one conclusion though they start off from many points. To be exact, they blame socialism, which U Ne Win tried to implement, for all the ills in the country. Even those who accept the fact that no type of socialism whatsoever existed in Burma tend to blame the Burmese people for the current plight of Burma's economy. Most Western observers blame the current stagnant situation on the Burmese leaders who rejected working with foreign capital. These observers, however, keep silent about the fact that the Burmese people have already tried developing productive forces in the country by working hand in hand with foreign investors.

Cooperation with Japan was once mainly within the framework of war reparations paid by the Tokyo government for its destruction in Burma during World War II. Newly independent Burma at the time had many contacts with Britain and the United States. Despite such relations, it is quite difficult to claim that Burma experienced a certain amount of economic growth at the time. It would be sufficient to point to the Pyidawtha Development Plan in Burma that flopped miserably. The Pyidawtha Development Plan was scrapped not only because the United States, which was the main country funding that project, was involved in foreign intervention in Burma, it was also not viable from the economic point of view. As pointed out by historians, the activity of foreign companies not contributing to the political stability in the country prior to 1962 was also one of the many reasons for the demise of that scheme.

As known by all, by the time Burma was about to enter U Ne Win's era, it was already a very weak country wracked by intra-party antagonisms and division among the ethnic groups. Because of these experiences, Burma started looking for other alternatives for development. Since 1962, it has practiced policy of self-reliance. Regrettably, however, the country was not strong enough for that. The only source of financial support for development projects was the export of raw materials and food grain; no other means were available. The Burmese experience is similar to what the other countries subjected to decades of colonial exploitation also experienced.

As Burma became isolated, it also became even more dependent on the world market situation for its traditional export commodities such as rice, timber, and minerals. Its strategy to depend on rice as a major export commodity also did not work because the price of rice continued to decline in the world.

In the early seventies, the Burmese Government changed its policy on cooperation with foreign companies and appealed to Western countries to provide loans. Japan, the United States, the FRG, and other Western countries responded. The telltale signs of such cooperation started showing in the early eighties, and external debt owed to the Western countries grew to between $3 billion and $4 billion. The economy declined, and industries faced a severe shortage of raw materials and necessary equipment. The situation today is so severe that even though the United Nations has declared Burma a least developed country, it is difficult to say the country's situation has improved.

Burma owes one third of the total $4 billion foreign debt to Japan. It was estimated that 10.8 billion yen would have to be repaid to Japan this year. But, after Burma was declared a least developed country, Japan agreed to reduce some of the loan repayment. Burma now has to pay back only 7 billion yen. This shows that even though Burma's economy is at its weakest hour, Western donor countries are not thinking of completely writing off the loans.

The Western media does not seem interested to comment on the reasons for this. There are, however, objective descriptions of the debt situation. For instance, according to (Susan George), an expert on the Third World debt problem, debts are a suitable form of instrument to control the national economic institutions of other countries. In the case of Burma, debt becomes an instrument to infiltrate into the economies of underdeveloped countries. Western experts have their reasons for constantly advising the Burmese people to allow the foreign companies to operate freely. Occasionally a Western newspaper would write that some people are exploiting the economic dependence of developing countries to achieve their long-term goals. For instance, THE FINANCIAL TIMES writes that Japan not only approaches Burma for its natural resources, but also plans to use its economic strength to increase its political influence. If Japan agrees to help the trouble-plagued Burma it would create another opening for industrialized capitalist countries to safeguard their interests in Southeast Asia.

It is very rare to find such an admission from the Western press. The British newspaper's confession is therefore very valuable.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Appointed Ambassador to Afghanistan

LD1310140588 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—The Soviet leadership has taken a decision to appoint Yuliy Vorontsov ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afganistan, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman announced at a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's information directorate, quoted Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as saying that Afghanistan was a "bleeding wound" and there was a need for a highly skilled healer.

Vorontsov possessed the required qualities, which was evidenced by his previous activity and his current position as first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, the post he would retain.

Vorontsov, who is a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, will leave for the place of his new assignment shortly.

Rebel Attacks Aim for 'Influence' in Afghanistan

LD1210185688 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Kabul October 12 TASS—Extremist groups of the Afghan opposition are using acts of terror to secure influence in many parts of Afghanistan even before the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country is completed.

The terrorists shell settlements with rockets on a regular basis to show force and intimidate the population. On Tuesday, they bombarded three major Afghan cities, killing two and wounding four persons in Herat and Gardeyz, while, luckily, no people were hurt in Kabul.

Another crime was thwarted in the capital when security agents discovered and defused a powerful bomb at a bus stop near the Kabul Polytechnical Institute.

Such shelling and other extremists acts are taking an increasing toll on the civilian population, rebel sources have admitted, contrary to recent claims by Afghan opposition leaders that their groups attack only military targets.

More than 170 civilians were killed and over 500 were wounded by the irreconcilables in Afghanistan last month.

Terrorist strikes are spearheaded against the administrative centres in the provinces and also major cities, including Kabul, of course, which alone suffered 21 attacks with nearly 200 missiles in September. The casualties exceed 70 dead, mostly women and children, and 200 wounded.

In the period since the Geneva Accords went into force, terrorist activities in Kabul and Kabul Province have claimed more than 700 civilian lives. Besides, 346 dwellings and 45 administrative buildings were destroyed, according to a senior official of the republic's Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Escalating terror, rebel forces keep clashing with one another, a sign of serious discord within the opposition.

As the rift between moderate and fundamentalist groups is widening, the moderates in Qandahar are uniting in a bid to establish control over the whole of this southern province.

But the fundamentalists, together with Pakistan's secret services, have vowed to never let that happen and began intensive training of new groups of militants to put Qandahar under the control of Afghanistan's extremist Islamic Party.

However, there is no unity among the factions of the fundamentalist opposition, either: More than 30 men were killed in a week of clashes between the followers of the Islamic Party and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan in Herat and Faryab Provinces, while an Arab adviser of an Islamic Society group was killed in an internecine shootout near Bilchirag [name as received].

The republic's Armed Forces attacked opposition groups in Kabul, Paktia, Konduz and Herat Provinces on Tuesday to countervail their attempts to capture separate villages and districts. The enemy losses amounted to 80 killed and wounded, according to BAKHTAR news agency.

Situation in Konarha Province remains tense as the Armed Forces and self-defence units there are repulsing violent assaults at the city of Asadabad.

As many as 300 Afghan refugees returned home from Iran on Tuesday. They are now accomodated at a hotel in Herat and will leave for places of permanent residence after receiving pecuniary aid from the state.

The state continues supplies of food, clothes, seeds and fertilizers to help rural residents in areas that suffered during the hostilities. Two convoys with relief aid left the capital for districts in Kabul Province yesterday.

PLO's 'Abbas Holds Moscow Press Conference

Appeals to Israel for Peace

LD1310084488 Moscow TASS In English 1538 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—We propose once again peace to all the residents of Israel, said Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu Mazin), member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, at a press conference held here today. He leads a Palestinian delegation now on a visit here.

Having denounced the aggressive policy of Israel which unleashed four wars over the past four decades, Abu Mazin expressed the hope that Tel Aviv would, in the final account, give up the policy of force and respond to the Palestinian call for peace.

The striving of the Arab people of Palestine to have their rights materialized through negotiations at an international conference under the U.N. aegis does not unfortunately find response in the Israeli ruling circles, said the member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The only aim of the Palestinian uprising on the occupied lands is to have the occupation ended. The insurgent Palestinians use only peaceful means, while clubs, rubber and plastic bullets, live cartriges are used against them. The Israeli authorities resort to deportations, mass repressions, destruction of dwelling houses, introduction of a state of emergency. But in Israel there are forces coming out against the occupation. We extend and will continue extending to them a hand of peace, and are ready to meet any Israeli who wants peace.

Over the past two months, said Abu Mazin, we were having broad consultations with friends, including the Soviet Union.

Discussed with Soviet officials, he said, were questions pertaining to important decisions that the PLO intends to take, specifically on questions of formation of a provisional Palestinian government, declaration of Palestinian sovereignty, a political statement which could be made. The conversations produced positive results.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation, said the Palestinian politician, is now exerting serious efforts to convene in the near future an extraordinary session of the National Council of Palestine in the light of new conditions at the Palestinian, inter-Arab and international scenes. Our main task is to have in the Middle East a fair peace that would satisfy the national aspirations of the Palestinian people through convocation of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

'Cruelest' Suppression Cited

LD1310110888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] A press conference has been held in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs by a delegation of the PLO Executive Committee. Abu Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas], member of the PLO Executive Committee, spoke at the conference. He said in particular:

[Begin 'Abbas recording in Arabic fading to Russian translation] The Palestinian people believe that the main task of the world community at present is to achieve a just peace in the Near East, built on justice and equality which would satisfy the national expectations of the Arab people of Palestine. It is possible to achieve this through the convening of an international conference on the Near East. In our opinion, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the interested sides, including the PLO, must take part in it. Unfortunately, the ruling circles in Israel have not yet responded to any of these actions. The events which have taken place recently on the West Bank of the river Jordan and in the Gaza Strip are proof of this. I refer, of course, to the measures to suppress the Palestinian uprising on the occupied territories. Despite the fact that the Arab population uses peaceful means, the cruelest suppressive measures are being used against them and this fact angers even some Israelis. On behalf of the PLO, I state that we are ready to meet with any Israeli person who wants peace. This was also said recently by Yasir 'Arafat in his address in Strasbourg. [end recording]

Notes Soviet Role in Struggle

LD1310090288 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] A press conference was held today at the press center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow by the PLO delegation which was in the USSR on a brief visit. Mahmud 'Abbas, leader of the delegation and member of the PLO Executive Committee, told Soviet and foreign correspondents that the PLO is currently holding an active internal dialogue within the context of preparations for an extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council. He added that the session will discuss and endorse important decisions concerning the promotion of the Palestinian Arab people's struggle for their legitimate national rights. He said that the Palestinian struggle in all its aspects has a major objective: the restoration of peace to the Middle East on the basis of justice and international legitimacy.

At the request of the correspondents, Mahmud Abbas commented on the situation in the Middle East. He said:

[Begin recording] If we are now talking about peace or calling for it, this does not mean that we have just begun to call for peace; we have been calling for peace since the start of revolution. We have always extended our hands to those whom today we call our enemies, the Israelis. To them we say: We extend our hand for peace to all those in Israel who desire peace. Israel has waged four wars and an invasion: 1948, 1956, 1967, and 1973, and invaded Lebanon. It has controlled many peoples, yet it still lacks peace. It has not achieved peace after 40 years. We hope that it will adopt a new stand away from war, blood, and problems in the Middle East, because we are indeed making a real peace offer and wish the rulers of Israel to accept this invitation. [end recording]

Mahmud 'Abbas answered many questions addressed to him by the Soviet, Arab, and Western correspondents, and pointed to the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for a just solution to the Palestine problem and the conflict in the Middle East. He announced that the Soviet Union follows with great interests all the fluctuations of the Palestinian struggle and studies its latest developments, but there can be no talk about any pressure on the PLO or the imposition of new decisions on it. Mahmud 'Abbas said that the USSR has always respected what we call the Palestinian choice.

Officials Attend PDRY Festivities

Talyzin Group Departs for Aden

LD1310094088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 Oct (TASS)—A Soviet party-government delegation led by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, left for Aden today at the invitation of the PDRY leadership. It will take part in the festivities on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the revolution of 14 October and 10th anniversary of the formation of the Yemen Socialist Party.

At the airport the delegation was seen off by Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Army's Lushev Arrives

LD1210202088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Aden, 12 Oct (TASS)—In keeping with an understanding which has already been reached, Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defence, has arrived in the PDRY on an official visit. He will take part in the celebrations on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] and the 25th anniversary of the 14th October revolution.

The Soviet guest was met by Colonel H.Q. Tahir, candidate member of the YSP Central Committee Politburo, deputy minister of defense, and chief of the general staff of the PDRY Armed Forces, and by commanders of the Republic's Armed Forces.

Iranian Trade Exhibition Comes to Moscow

PM1210152388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Ostalskiy report: "Persian Carpets on Krasnaya Presnya"]

[Text] A trade exhibition by the Islamic Republic of Iran has opened at the Moscow exhibition complex on Krasnaya Presnya Street.

Eighty state and private companies from this neighboring country are exhibiting examples of their products—from pistachio nuts and the legendary Persian carpets to television sets and the components of irrigation systems. A large proportion of the exhibits are consumer goods, including textiles, clothes for all tastes and age groups, perfumes, conserves, and food products.

Hoseyn Khabbasan, general director of the Center for the Development of Iranian Exports, hopes that the exhibition will make it possible to open up the Soviet market to many of these goods. He said:

Frankly speaking, the volume of trade between our countries cannot satisfy us. Not only has there been no increase in this trade recently but the reverse has happened—trade has fallen off. As a trading partner the Soviet Union is a long way behind countries such as the FRG, Japan, and Turkey. It is hardly worth trying to establish who is to blame for this—the situation has just turned out that way. But cultural and historical factors and the actual structure of our countries' exports and imports show that we could develop trade to our mutual benefit. What is more, our accounts could in the future be based on a clearing agreement that does not involve foreign currency. In view of all this, I think you will agree that a situation where the Soviet Union accounts for a mere 8 percent of Iranian imports cannot be considered right.

[Ostalskiy] Well, what percentage would you consider normal and in line with the true potential of our bilateral trade?

[Khabbazan] I believe we could increase the volume of trade 5-6 times over in less than 3 years—to our mutual benefit and advantage.

[Ostalskiy] It is well known that the long war with Iraq has caused that country and your own state considerable damage and led to a deterioration in the economic position of the working people. Just how accessible are the goods exhibited here to the ordinary Iranian?

[Khabbazan] Certain restrictions and the rationing of some goods are a temporary feature in our country. They are mainly the result of the drop in oil prices. Consequently, we are devoting our attention to developing the export of consumer goods as well as petroleum products. In the last 2 years the volume of this form of export has almost doubled and has reached $1.2 billion.

Near the stand with the famous Iranian detergents once so popular in our country I was approached by T. Keshavarz [name as published], a representative of the "Chemical Industries Group" company.

"I hear you are having difficulties with laundry detergent? Just remember: Its quality has in no way deteriorated since the time when the Soviet Union used to buy this product from us. We can supply you with all the laundry detergent you need, as well as good quality toothpaste, and you will not need any foreign currency for this...."

Yes, it is quite clear that the Iranian side has prepared seriously for this exhibition.

Railroad Aid Protocol Signed With India

BK1310035288 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] India and the Soviet Union have signed a protocol in Moscow on electrification of Indian railways. It was signed by the minister for railways, Mr Madhavrao Scindia, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr N. Konarev. Under it, the Soviet Union will supply about 20 electric locomotives to India. India will supply railway wagons and other devices to the Soviet Union. The two countries will also explore possibilities of cooperation in building railways in third countries.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Unofficial' Talks on Namibia End 8 Oct

U.S. 'Blocks' Settlement

LD0910115988 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 9 Oct 88

[Text] New York October 9 TASS—Representatives of Angola, Cuba, the Republic of South Africa and the United States wound up unofficial consultations here Saturday within the framework of the quadripartite talks on settling the situation in South-Western Africa.

The parties expressed firm commitment to the earlier reached agreement on the beginning on November 1, 1988 of the fulfillment of U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia. "We are on the verge" of solving the problem, a U.S. representative stressed. Several involved issues should be settled in the next two weeks.

The analysis of the positions held by the parties to the negotiations shows that notwithstanding Washington's statements about a sincere desire to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the south of Africa, it is exactly the U.S. stance that blocks the efforts to attain this goal. At issue are, in part, the attempts to force on Angola an "unconditional reconciliation" with the UNITA group which is backed up by it and wages the war against the Republic's government and the people. The Reagan administration is supported in this by Zaire through the territory of which the United States has channelled weapons to the group in recent years, THE NEW YORK TIMES writes.

Angola's stand on this issue was formulated in clear-cut terms and repeatedly. It holds that the United States and the Republic of South Africa should withdraw their military aid to the UNITA before national reconciliation begins. "Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary for African affairs, insists on national reconciliation", said Manuel Pedro Pacavira, permanent representative of Angola to the United Nations. "We regard this as interference in our internal affairs," he said.

U.S. Statement on Results

LD1110112388 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Washington October 11 TASS—Negotiators from the United States, South Africa, Cuba and Angola have "substantially narrowed" the gap between the stands of the parties which discuss a political settlement of the situation in southwest Africa, said a statement issued by the U.S. Department of State on Monday on the results of three-day informal consultations in New York within the framework of the quadri-partite negotiations on a settlement of the situation in southwest Africa.

The statement said the consultations were useful in more precisely defining the gaps remaining between the parties on various aspects of problems requiring solution.

At the same time it was pointed out that significant further decisions must be made before and accord will be required to reach a final settlement. The participants in the consultations "recognize that further discussions are required to achieve an agreement acceptable to all sides".

The U.S. State Department's statement couched in smooth wording lays the main emphasis on the existing differences over a timetable for a withdrawal of the units of Cuban troops that are in Angola at the request of the country's government to defend its borders against outside interference. But at the same time the statement does not mention other important problems which hinder the speediest progress on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the south of Africa.

THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper writes that "Many U.S. analysts—and some U.S. officials as well—remain sceptical that South Africa will make a final decision on the 'trade offs' under discussion before its municipal elections October 26".

The newspaper's opinion is that such procrastinations are brought about by "pressure on the government from conservatives opposed to any South African withdrawal from Namibia."

Dos Santos Hopes for Settlement

PM1010153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interview With President"]

[Text] New York, 5 Oct—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has expressed the hope that a peace settlement will soon be reached in southwest Africa. In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES he stressed that the Angolan Government has been doing all it can to this end in the course of the current talks involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States.

The Angolan head of state noted that his government is prepared to declare an amnesty for the members of armed formations waging an undeclared war against the people of the republic. At the same time, the president stressed that the Angolan Government will only be able to start implementing a national reconciliation policy once South Africa and the United States have stopped giving military aid to the gangs of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] terrorist grouping.

UNITA does not have the support of the population, the president said. Unless South Africa carries out further large-scale intervention against Angola, the grouping's formations will quickly be routed.

Zambian Party Leader Addresses SWAPO Congress

LD1010095288 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] Lusaka October 10 TASS—The patriots of the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) should intensify their struggle and more efficient support should be given to SWAPO by all countries in the south of Africa to have the problem of granting independence to Namibia resolved as soon as possible.

This was stated by general secretary of the United National Independence Party of Zambia (UNIP), Grey Zulu, speaking on Sunday at the SWAPO congress, which opened in Kabwe, Zambia. The congress is attended by 27 delegates, representatives of the SWAPO leadership with Sam Nujoma at the head.

Zambia, Zulu underlined, intends to continue rendering assistance to the SWAPO patriots who are building up armed actions more intensively. This is the only way to make the racist regime withdraw its troops from the illegally occupied territory.

With elections planned to be held in Namibia under the U.N. control next summer the Namibians should be strengthening unity and cohesion, said at the congress SWAPO President Sam Nujoma. Our organisation should become the revolutionary-democratic force capable of heading a new independent state in Africa, said Sam Nujoma.

'Panorama of Opinions' on Southern Africa

LD1010030588 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 9 Oct 88

["Southern Africa—Panorama of Opinions" program; (Mikhail Dugin) interview with African Service reporter Igor Potovskiy]

[Text] [(Dugin)] Southern Africa—Panorama of Opinions. This is our usual slot devoted to discussing the situation in that part of the African Continent. As always in this program, I hand over the microphone to African Service reporter Igor Potovskiy. So how has the past week affected southern Africa and, perhaps more relevantly, what are the prospects for the situation's development?

[Potovskiy] I think that as the quadripartite talks on a settlement in Namibia progress, the problem of a regional settlement in general is becoming increasingly like a huge tangled web of contradictions. South Africa has conditioned Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola and to the provision of guaranties of national reconciliation in Angola. Angola regards any kind of internal settlement as an internal problem to be resolved after free elections have been held in Namibia. The leaders of the Frontline States declare that there can be no peace in the region until South Africa's internal contradictions are resolved. This past week, marked by a surge of diplomatic activity by Botha, has confirmed this once again, as indeed it has shown that all these intertwined problems stem from the same cause, that is, South Africa's undefined stance.

[(Dugin]) Igor, I do not think you are right on this point. It has been noted in recent times that Pretoria is ready to take two very important steps, namely, to grant independence to Namibia and to release Nelson Mandela. As for the past week, it has shown something different, as attentions focused on obtaining a consensus with regard to the main obstacle to Namibia's independence, that is to say, a timetable for the Cuban troop withdrawal, and on Botha's statement on the willingness to release Mandela.

[Potovskiy] So what? Why then was the consensus not translated into a concrete agreement? There was not even an announcement of dates for a new round of talks. And the commencement of the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia is again in doubt. As for Mandela's release, why has the South African Government warned against excessive optimism?

[(Dugin)] In your opinion, what should that be attributed to?

[Potovskiy] To South Africa's undefined stance. To the fact that Botha finds himself under strong contradictory pressures. Liberal circles think he has not done enough, while extreme right-wing leader Eugene Terre-Blanche acts on the basis of the slogan: We shall never share power. The two Bothas...

[(Dugin), interrupting] The president and the foreign minister.

[Potovskiy] Quite right. The two Bothas have wrecked the foundations of apartheid, but we shall rebuild them. But most important of all in my opinion is the pressure from the military because they carry very important weight in the country. Now the military believes that any changes will be a concession by South Africa. This is the end of the game, says the London NEW AFRICAN. And if the game is played differently it may also be the end of white South Africa. The military leaders do not think it reasonable that there should be any game at all.

[(Dugin)] But that is not possible. There is no going back to the past, for any manner of reasons, whether purely military or economic and political.

[Potovskiy] Yes, that is true. But on the other hand the government cannot afford the luxury of failing to take such views into account. Moreover—and I quote the London TIMES—on the eve of elections in South Africa Botha wishes to withdraw from Namibia on the best terms possible. The liquidation of the ANC [African National Congress] bases in Angola, the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from that country, and some kind of reconciliation between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the Angolan Government, would sweeten the bitter pill to be swallowed by the military who do not want to lose their Namibian base nor to see their 10 years' training of UNITA go to waste. Hence the endless conditions laid down by South Africa.

[(Dugin)] But why then are they (?raising the questions) of a timetable for the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and of guaranties of national reconciliation there, and nothing else?

[Potovskiy] Because the main thing is the ANC. The goals of the South African military have remained basically unchanged, such goals being to undermine the ANC's positions and deprive it of support in Angola. But all signs are that nowadays South Africa regards the consolidation of UNITA's positions in Angola as the only way of attaining such goals. South Africa is no longer in a position to help UNITA as it has done in the past. But to leave UNITA facing the government troops alone would mean signing its death warrant. So the only way out is to strive for national reconciliation, expecting a coalition government to take a stance that would suit South Africa.

[(Dugin)] Indeed, the whole of Botha's diplomatic activity of late has been geared to such a goal.

[Potovskiy] Quite so. After Angola, at one of the sessions of the quadripartite talks, rejected the possibility of direct talks with UNITA, there was a surge of shuttle diplomacy by Botha in a bid to compel the states of the region to pressure Angola into accepting such a course. On seeking to bring about a regional conference between the Frontline States and South Africa on national reconciliation in Angola, Botha waved the carrot. His government, he said, would support such an initiative with all its influence. He also stressed that the countries of southern Africa are economically interdependent, and that many neighboring countries make use of South Africa's infrastructure, labor market, technological know-how, and financial resources. But the stick was already casting a shadow in that reference to the neighboring countries' dependence on South Africa. This is in addition to the recent threats uttered by Magnus Malam against Botswana and Zimbabwe over their support for the ANC. Those two countries should bear in mind that there are limits to South Africa's restrained attitude, he stated.

[(Dugin)] Yes. Such a conference and, even more, its success, would be a great present for Botha. And it would be a means to pressure the Angolan Government into dealing a blow on the ANC, thus enhancing his prestige and mitigating his isolation in the region and in the world. Moreover, the sanctions issue...

[Potovskiy, interrupting] But none of that came to pass. Neither the carrot nor the stick have worked. Both the leaders of the Frontline States, who refused to meet Botha, and the critics of the government inside South Africa, have made the same point: The efforts to attain a regional settlement will be meaningless until the government engages in dialogues with the domestic opponents of apartheid.

[(Dugin)] In other words, at a moment of crisis, Botha is again confronted with the question of Mandela's release. And now there is every indication that the South African Government is seriously considering such a possibility.

[Potovskiy] Yes, I believe that within a relatively short period of time Nelson Mandela will be released, possibly even unconditionally. But I think your outlook is much too optimistic.

[(Dugin)] Really?

[Potovskiy] Yes. In Botha's political game Mandela's release is a major trump card, one of those you save as a last resort. Many observers believe that, on this issue, the most important thing for Botha is to pick the right time. In the view of NEW AFRICAN, for example, it is possible that Botha may be hoping to cause a certain disorientation, so to speak, within the ANC, with Mandela's release. This 70 year-old leader who spent 26 years in jail, will he be capable of leading the organization, or has he lost touch with reality? And such arguments. But it would appear that the main thing is the estimation that Mandela's views may be much more moderate than those of the up-and-coming generation of ANC leaders. If he picks the right time for Mandela's release, this might change the ANC's stand on holding talks with the government.

[(Dugin)] So you mean that the Botha government is staking everything on such a move, that therefore the problems of a settlement in Angola and Namibia might lose the acuity they have to South Africa, and that, when all is said and done, South Africa will be willing to make concessions.

[Potovskiy] No, I do not think so. That would be too high a stake for Botha's government, much too uncertain. With regard to the Angolan-Namibian problem the views of the military on the prospects of a regional settlement are a reality. Hence the continuing lengthy and difficult talks and the Pretoria delegation's continuing bargaining. As to the problems it raises at the quadripartite talks South Africa is beginning to repeat itself, so the question really remains unchanged: Will Botha manage to prevail over the military lobby? Does he have sufficient strength of character to pursue his own path? Or will he refrain from clear-cut decisions for fear of right-wing coups [golpe], a factor that so often in the past has limited his action?

Gilashvili Delegation Visits Equatorial Guinea

PM1110113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] A USSR delegation headed by P.G. Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow 7 October for Malabo to attend celebrations of the 20th anniversary of national independence of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

Soviet-Guinean Greetings Mark 30-Year Ties

PM0710122788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR and Guinean Foreign Ministries have exchanged congratulatory telegrams in connection with the 30th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet-Guinean diplomatic relations.

The friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries, the Soviet telegram says, date from Guinean independence. In the last few years mutually advantageous bilateral ties have broadened in many spheres and are developing under the sign of mutual respect and sympathy, equality, and consideration for one another's interests.

The telegram from Guinean Foreign Minister J. Traore points out the Soviet Union's invaluable contribution to strengthening the foundations of Guinea's independence, the friendly character of the relations between the USSR and Guinea, their varied cooperation—including in the economic sphere—and the similarity of the two states' positions on major international problems. It also expresses the confidence that the prospects for Soviet-Guinean cooperation are vast and promising, and that the restructuring and policy of rebirth being implemented in the Soviet Union and Guinea respectively form a favorable backdrop for this.

MPD Deputy Chief Stefanovskiy Visits Mozambique

PM1010095588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit by Political Workers' Delegation"]

[Text] A delegation from the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate headed by Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, visited Mozambique at the invitation of the Mozambican Armed Forces National Political Commissariat 27 September through 6 October.

During the visit the delegation was received by Army General A.J. Chipande, member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee Politburo and Mozambican national defense minister. Meetings and conversations took place with Major General E. da Nihia, Mozambican Armed Forces national political commissar.

The sides exchanged experience of organizing and implementing party political work in the armies of two friendly countries and of the fighters' moral and psychological tempering.

The delegation took part in ceremonies to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Nampula Command Political School, traveled around the country, and visited a number of troop units and training centers.

The visit took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Soviet Warship Arrives on Visit to Cape Verde

PM1210114388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Arrival of Soviet Ship"]

[Text] Praia, 11 Oct—The Soviet patrol ship "Silnyy" arrived in this Cape Verdian port yesterday on an official friendly visit.

The ship's commander has paid visits to city officials. Return visits have taken place.

East Europe

Further on CPCZ Plenum; Personnel Changes

Fojtik Speech at Plenum's End

PM1310105788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CPCZ Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Oct—A CPCZ Central Committee plenum devoted to ideological questions completed its work here today. J. Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report to the plenum entitled "Developing Ideological Work and Boosting It To Today's Standards."

The main task, the speaker said, is to link ideological work with real problems and target it to support the restructuring program in order to ensure that the people realize the crucial character of the contemporary period and practically master new methods of resolving urgent tasks. We derive a valuable boost and support from the CPSU's Leninist course in our work. The results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference met with tremendous interest in the CSSR. We will use the conference's decisions that stressed the role of the Communist Party as the revolutionary vanguard of socialist society and the party's obligation to head the process of renewal and creatively develop Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical and ideological foundation of restructuring in our preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The incipient restructuring in the CSSR, J. Fojtik pointed out, is opening up broad possibilities for intensifying the aggressiveness of the ideological front. This is natural. Social life cannot be restructured without restructuring of people's thinking, without overcoming various stereotypes and understanding the new requirements and demands of development. Everything must be done to ensure that everyone realizes that restructuring is an irreversible process which applies to all aspects of society's life.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report devoted a considerable attention to the problems of international life and to strengthening cooperation and collaboration among socialist countries in resolving the fundamental problems of the day and stressed the importance of actively involving social sciences in the ideological struggle and in scientifically predicting the main avenues for socialist building.

The plenum examined organizational questions. Chairmen and members of the CPCZ Central Committee permanent commissions were elected, and a committee for party work in the CSSR along with commissions to elaborate the CPCZ program were formed. The plenum elected F. Pitra, M. Stepan, I. Knotek, K. Urbanek, and M. Zavadil as members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. J. Mevald and R. Rohlicek were elected members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat. K. Urbanek was elected chairman of the committee on party work in the CSSR.

The plenum relieved L. Strougal and P. Colotka of their duties as members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered the closing remarks at the plenum.

'A Most Important Event' for CSSR

LD1210203988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Samylin]

[Text] And now comrades, let us return to foreign news. It has already been reported that the CPCZ Central Committee plenum took place in Prague. Aleksandr Samylin, our correspondent, comments on its results:

[Samylin] The plenum which has ended is being evaluated as a most important event in the country's life. Its decisions are discussed today in all Czechoslovak labor collectives. And although strengthening the party's ideological work in conditions of restructuring was the main question, the plenum tackled serious tasks concerning national economic and cadres policy.

The speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, provided a good boost to a lively discussion. And the result was the adoption of important decisions which directly affect the development of all Czechoslovak society. The number of Central Committee standing commissions has been increased. Their composition has been strengthened. This was done so that the party would be able to better coordinate and direct the work of the executive bodies of power. The plenum approved the setting up of the committee on the guidance of the party work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

The party's organization structure is at present like this: There is the CPCZ and its integral part, the Communist Party of Slovakia, which effectively translates into life the decisions of the central bodies of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Comrade Jakes emphasized in his speech that the creation of the committee does not mean the federalization of the party. A territorial body for better organization of the party work in Bohemia is simply necessary.

The composition of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium was renewed at the October plenum in Prague. Among those who were newly elected are people with many years of service and party work experience, active participants and organizers of the restructuring in the country.

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, noted at a press conference devoted to the results of the plenum: We want the restructuring, the economic reforms, the deepening of democracy to be carried out quicker, the style of government's work to be changed and the intertia which hampers the renewal of the methods of leadership to be overcome.

New Government Sworn In 12 Oct

LD1210204388 Moscow TASS in English 2025 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Prague October 12 TASS—President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Gustav Husak, by the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has appointed a new government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, with Ladislav Adamec as its chairman.

Among his deputies are Frantisek Pitra and Ivan Knotek who were appointed respectively chairman of the Governments of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak

Socialist Republic. Jaromir Johanes was appointed foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Milan Vaclavik—defence minister, Frantisek Kincl—interior minister.

The members of the new Czechoslovak Government were sworn in today in a ceremony held at the residence of the president of the country at the Prague Castle. Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, was present at the ceremony.

In his speech Gustav Husak expressed confidence that the new government would consistently ensure implementation of tasks in all areas, realisation of the programme of socio-economic development of Czechoslovak society.

Soviet Ministers Greet Adamec

PM1310132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2

[Undated USSR Council of Ministers congratulations to CSSR Premier Adamec]

[Text] To Comrade Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier.

Esteemed Comrade Ladislav Adamec,

Please accept our cordial congratulations on your appointment as CSSR premier.

We wish you great success in your important new post.

We express confidence that the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to steadily widen and deepen in the interests of strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the triumph of the cause of world peace.

The USSR Council of Ministers.

Medvedev Receives Poland's Orzechoswki for Talks

LD1210190088 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, arrived in Moscow today for a working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

During his meeting with Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the sides exchanged views on issues of perestroyka, or restructuring, in the USSR and socialist renewal in Poland, some problems in the development of Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology and science.

Aleksandr Kapto, head of the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and Wlodzimierz Natorf, ambassador of Poland to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Soviets Recognize Poland's 45th Army Day

Ogarkov, Others Hold Meeting

PM1210192188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[Untitled TASS report under general heading: "Glorious Anniversary of the Polish Army"]

[Text] At the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army there was a meeting on 11 October of representatives of the capital's public and servicemen of the Moscow garrison devoted to the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Armed Forces.

The meeting's presidium comprised Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; A.N. Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society; Marshal of the Soviet Union N.V. Ogarkov; Colonel General V.N. Lobov, and other generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, participants in the liberation of Poland from the fascist aggressors, and representatives of the capital's public. W. Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

The report by Marshal of the Soviet Union S.K. Kurkotkin, and the speech by Brigade General A. Czernow, military, naval, and air force attache of the Polish Embassy to the USSR, emphasized that Soviet and Polish servicemen, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism are standing firmly in the single combat formation of the Warsaw Pact states' Armies and are reliably guaranteeing peace and the gains of socialism.

Yazov Greets Poland's Siwicki

PM1210103788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 88 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov undated message to Polish National Defense Minister F. Siwicki on 45th Anniversary of Polish Army]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Florian Siwicki, Polish national defense minister.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself I cordially congratulate you and all Polish fighters on this portentous date—the 45th anniversary of the Polish Army.

Relying on the indestructible fraternal friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the armies of the other countries of the socialist community, which have stood the test of time, Polish Army fighters strengthen their ideological tempering, confidently resolve the tasks of boosting unit and formation combat readiness, improve their combat skill, and master contemporary combat equipment and weapons. Together with the friendly armies of the other Warsaw Pact states the Polish Army reliably guards the revolutionary gains and security of the fraternal countries of socialism.

Soviet fighters wish all the personnel of the Polish Army further successes in strengthening Poland's defense capability in the interests of peace and progress.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Polish Parties' Consultation on New Government

LD1210205088 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw October 12 TASS—A meeting of the Central Commission of Cooperation between the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party has been held here today. The meeting discussed progress in preparations for tomorrow's meeting of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, primarily questions linked with the composition of a new government.

Taking part in the work of the meeting were First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Main Committee of the United Peasants' Party, Marshal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic Roman Malinowski, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Vice-President of the Council of State Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, and also chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic Mieczyslaw Rakowski, heads of socio-political organisations—founders of the Patriotic National Revival Movement.

At a Warsaw meeting with representatives of workers' self-government bodies of enterprises from all over Poland Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that the proposals for composition of the Council of Ministers had already been prepared. The programme of the Cabinet of Ministers to be made public at the Sejm tomorrow was drawn up collectively, he said. The draft document was set out to persons representing various circles of the Polish public.

In the past fortnight the head of government of the Polish People's Republic held intensive consultations with a view of forming a new Cabinet of Ministers and elaborating its programme. He met with leaders of the allied parties—the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, trade unions, socio-political organisations, directors of enterprises, representatives of the Episcopate of the Catholic Church in Poland and also various circles of Poland's public.

Weekly Reflects on Polish Government Crisis

PM1210115088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 88 pp 9, 14

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences M. Pavlova-Silvanskaya: "Elements in a Resignation: Reflections on the Government Crisis in Poland"]

[Text] Late August and September were stormy times in Poland's political life: two PZPR Central Committee plenums, two Sejm sessions. On 19 September parliament accepted the resignation of Zbigniew Messner's government, and on 27 September it appointed Mieczyslaw Rakowski the new chairman of the Council of Ministers. These events, unprecedented in many respects, provide food for thought on the subject of the economic and social processes taking place in Poland.

What happened? On 20 August the All-Polish Trade Unions Alliance (OPZZ) Executive Committee asked the marshal of the Sejm to convene an emergency session of parliament to discuss the activity of the Council of Ministers in implementing the economic reform. On 6 September the trade union leadership held consultations in Warsaw with representatives of 210 of the biggest enterprises and voivodship trade union alliances, and on the following day, on the basis of the results, adopted a resolution expressed in categorical terms in the form of a vote of no confidence in the government and called on the Sejm deputies to demand its resignation.

The first reaction, admittedly a reflex, on the part of many experienced politicians both in Poland and elsewhere was skeptical: This move by the OPZZ was only a diversionary maneuver, a means of letting off steam and enhancing the prestige of the official trade unions in the eyes of dissatisfied workers. That is not so. I think the key to a correct understanding of the situation is provided by one of the replies in M. Rakowski's recent talk with the editors of DER SPIEGEL: "You can no longer fool people in our country by using safety valves. You could say that in 1980-1981 the Poles very rapidly passed through a nationwide political academy."

The first differences with the government emerged 2 years ago, when the congress of reborn trade unions discussed the problem of prices, and by last summer the OPZZ had drawn up a complete alternative program for the second stage of economic reform. It all began with quite correct observations and constructive proposals addressed to the government. But the government, although it did take individual objections into account, all the same failed to make any marked changes in its concept of transformations or its means of putting them into practice. Disagreements grew, but had not yet turned into open conflict. Not long before the outbreak of open conflict the government threw an accusation at the trade unions: By their excessive demands, whose fulfillment would finally destroy the national economy, they are blocking economic reform. The OPZZ leaders took up the gauntlet: Yes, the movement is blocking the "prices and incomes" spiral, and moreover it will continue to do so, if the authorities intend to implement the transformations at the expense of working people in the state sector. Saying: "We have had enough of experiments on the living organism of society!", the trade union leadership, which has 7 million people behind it, abandoned its obedience to the government.

Could it be a question of the personal ambitions of OPZZ chairman A. Miodowicz and his "team"? No, since last fall public opinion polls have shown a rapid decline in confidence in the government. This was also confirmed by the debate at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum. One after another, workers belonging to this party body mounted the platform. "The class assessments are simple, uncompromising, and unequivocal," a fitter from a Czestochowa metallurgical combine told the premier to his face, without beating about the bush. "The reason for the many failures, problems, and wasted years is an undistinguished government." A foreman from a Warsaw radio plant: "The government does not govern, it only rushes from one extreme to the other and papers over the cracks, it is incapable of foreseeing the effects of its decisions." Z. Messner admitted serious mistakes by the Council of Ministers, but the response was unmerciful: "The period of gullibility is over," "the last hour has struck," "you cannot govern on your knees." The head of government still tried to insist on the need to be tough and continue the course set, and asked the Central Committee for a political directive for a temporary freeze on prices and wages. But after consulting with the Committee for the Implementation of Economic Reform and studying the trade unions' position, he was forced to abandon that idea.

What happened is paradoxical from our standpoint: One member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, who heads the national trade union center, sought the resignation of the government, which was headed by another Politburo member. Objectively the OPZZ, while not opposing socialism, nonetheless acted as a legal opposition, showing how remote the present Polish political practice is from the past practice, when the trade unions were assigned the notorious auxiliary role of "drive shafts." At the enterprises the reborn trade unions have achieved de facto independence from the PZPR primary organizations, but the new model has not yet achieved its final, logical forms: Is it sensible for a dispute between trade unions and government to become a "duel" between two members of the Politburo?

The OPZZ leaders have stressed repeatedly that they are not opposed to reform as such, they are only against unsuitable methods of implementing it and opposed to an unsuccessful economic policy. It is true that the trade unions have been sounding the alarm for a long time: Official statistical reports are optimistic, but large groups of working people feel that their living standard is steadily falling. Given the Polish workers' understandable allergy to price manipulations, it is not surprising that the OPZZ leaders accurately detected the Achilles heel of government policy—its inflationary nature, which suits the central organs of economic management and monopoly enterprises. As long ago as spring A. Miodowicz warned: "In a few months the wheel will come full circle, and we will find ourselves back where we started." Unfortunately this gloomy prediction came true. The results of the sharp increase in prices carried out by the government at the beginning of the year were summed up trenchantly by one Polish journalist: "It looks as if we swallowed this bitter pill for nothing." The PZPR Central Committee Plenum admitted it, in politer terms.

It was supposed that after the price increases the shelves in the stores would be filled with goods, but it did not happen. Moreover, at the first sign of a stepping up of tension, at the first strike, panic arises among the Poles and it is as if a hurricane blows through the stores, sweeping everything away. Therefore, when, in early September, the government announced its intention urgently to switch the resources of heavy and even defense industry over to the production of consumer goods, reduce exports to the socialist countries, and allocate an "iron reserve" of $1 billion to emergency imports, even this did not change the mood. Moreover, predictions were made, not without foundation, that even these goods would instantly "evaporate" on the depleted market like a drop of water in a hot frying pan.

The members of the OPZZ Executive Committee had other reasons for dissatisfaction too. The reborn trade union movement has hitherto sought to resolve conflicts by lawful means. It was well aware of the pressure from below, the workers' growing dissatisfaction, but nonetheless it restrained them from "wildcat" strikes. The government, however, dragged out intolerably the fulfillment of its commitments, and at the same time showed a rare pliancy with regard to those who make most noise and fail to take account of the disastrous situation in the national economy. Not for nothing were demands made at the executive committee's August session for the government to see the trade unions not only as an ideological ally, but also as a competent partner.

Beneath the criticism of specific government steps, a serious, deep-seated problem was taking shape. At the recent Central Committee plenum it was formulated succinctly by Krakow machine operator S. Knap: "Only workers at big enterprises go on strike. We should ask ourselves why the working class will not accept the mechanisms of economic reform." It is first and foremost, in my view, because the reforms initially removed the fetters from the private and cooperative sectors. Here tried and tested, well oiled market mechanisms had their effect. But, as sociologists have discovered, the majority of Poles regard these measures as "outside the system" and do not directly associate them in their minds with economic reform. What they expect from this first and foremost is a drastic improvement in the efficiency of the state sector.

But this is precisely what has not happened—a strong boost to the development of the nucleus of the national economy. Objective facts lie behind the trade unions' protests: The real income of working people in the public sector fell last year for the most part (by as much as 10 percent for some groups), while in the private sector there was a rise of 4 percent. The plan for this year made provision for wage rises of 36 percent in the state sector, 47 percent in agriculture, and almost 100 percent in other sectors. The results of the reform were therefore in marked contradiction to the "workers' image of socialism."

This phenomenon is familiar to us: Much has been written in the Soviet press about the widespread presence of leveling views. Polish scientists have shown, however, that it is wrong to see these views as a permanent, unchanging factor in the masses' mentality. In 1980-1981 the ordinary Pole was clearly prepared to accept economic restructuring on the basis of more efficiency and differentiation of incomes. And it was only as fears accumulated in the face of the sharp increase in prices that this favorable trend began to give way to a desire to preserve the living standard already achieved and a new wave of leveling sentiments and resistance to government policy arose. One worker warned at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "Strikes could flare up again at any moment. And you can say a hundred times that they are illegal, that will not change anything."

Had the atmosphere been less heated, some of the merciless critics of Z. Messner's government would probably have acknowledged that the government he led had inherited a burdensome legacy and that in itself it was no worse, and in some ways even better than certain other cabinets. It included many highly qualified, competent people, professionals (such as Professor Z. Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers). They fell victim to a complex chain of circumstances (among other things, the total lack of a properly developed theory of reforms under socialism and the absence of experience in managing the state sector by economic means).

Another problem clearly raised by the Polish Government's resignation is that of responsibility for errors and failures. This question is indeed a stumbling block that none of the socialist countries has succeeded in removing. The merciless rule of capitalist society, "you made a mistake—you pay for it," when everything, even personal property, comes under the hammer, cannot be applied by us, if only because of the lack of large personal capital from which the culprits could even partially make good the damage done. Therefore the people have had to pay both for helplessness and incompetence, and for unforgivable bungling on the part of leaders at various levels. The ordinary Pole, in the 6th year of economic reform, is no longer willing to tighten his belt any more, since the decisions were taken over his head, without asking him. That is the main reason for the political tension, which sometimes declines slightly, and sometimes increases again.

While the government only fulfills directives from the party, which prescribes the economic policy in detail, ministers cannot really be held to account. As long as they do not commit outright abuses, heads roll, as a rule, only when a scapegoat is required (as W. Jaruzelski rightly pointed out at the plenum). If the government "swings with the party," the practice of moving unsuccessful managers from one post to another is the logical consequence of the model of government that has been adopted. Therefore, on his resignation, Z. Messner stated quite rightly: The responsibility for the Council of Ministers' errors should be shared by the party and the Sejm, which drew up and approved the basic lines of the economic policy.

Events in Poland have shown how dangerous a rigid link between party and government can be: Given a weakened economy and serious political conflicts, society finds itself, on the slightest pretext, confronting the ruling party and the system, because no one—neither the opposition, nor the church, nor the trade unions—assumes the burden of responsibility, they all adopt the advantageous, undemanding posture of the critic on the sidelines. Polish scientists, journalists, and trade union leaders have for some time been developing the idea that it is expedient to change the "party- government" formula, extending the autonomy and increasing the responsibility of the latter, that is, going over to a cabinet system. Now that Z. Messner's government has resigned as a whole, it is clear that this transition has indeed taken place in the country's political life.

Poland cannot be led out of its present situation by commonplace leaders using routine methods. What it needs is original, bold, personal concepts of domestic and foreign policy. And yet, as the well known Polish scientist Z. Madej, former vice premier and chairman of the Planning Commission, has noted, the majority of present leaders, including members of the government, "shine with the reflected light of their institutes. Public opinion, as a rule,... learns of their existence only when they have already reached Olympus." Would it not be possible, Z. Madej asked in a recent article, for the reform of the Polish parliamentary system, for instance, to follow some kind of "Rakowski plan," or for the housing problem to be tackled according to the "Miodowicz plan"? The OPZZ leader shares this view. He has stated: The trade unions are waiting for someone to put forward a concept of economic development with a more human face that would not forget society's health.

The idea of personal programs has basically already begun to take shape in Poland, though not entirely in the most desirable way. For instance, the package of measures associated with the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform has become firmly associated, in the minds of millions of Poles, with the name of Professor Z. Sadowski, one of the ideologists of structural transformations. A. Miodowicz noted last spring that this personalization is a two-edged sword: As soon as the fiasco of the "prices and incomes" operation becomes apparent, there will be no alternative for Z. Sadowski but to share the fate of the premier, and that is what happened on 19 September. Yet the trade union leadership acknowledges that the function of the well known economist is to generate ideas. The concept he proposed was basically open and fruitful, and the slowing down of the transformations was not his personal fault. In other words, along with its undoubted advantages in terms of the potential for stabilizing political processes, the cabinet system has annoying drawbacks too.

Until now in Poland (as in our country) a particular minister has been replaced when necessary, without the others being affected. Sometimes these cadre changes have been relatively frequent. Thus while Z. Messner was premier, the minister of housing construction was replaced three times, which prompted irony on the part of trade union officials: "We are very worried about Italy, where they are constantly changing governments, and at the same time at home, in entirely different political conditions, we are trying to do the same thing." The introduction of particular individuals into the government does not always yield the anticipated result, because usually the experienced "team" rapidly integrates and "breaks in" the new boy. This time M. Rakowski has been given 2 weeks to form a cabinet, which, it has already been announced, will include not only representatives of the three coalition parties (the PZPR, the Democratic Party, and the United Peasant Party), but also members of the constructive opposition. It is necessary to choose ministers who are not only compatible with each other in practical and psychological terms, but are also united by a common idea and political fate, a collective responsibility for the fruit of their labor. In this respect the cabinet system can do something to alleviate the flaws of departmentalism.

The 5 votes cast against M. Rakowski in the vote in the Sejm and the 35 absentions did not surprise anyone either in Poland or abroad. For Poland today, this is in the nature of things. Commentators were concerned with two questions. First: Why, despite the marked reanimation in internal life in the allied parties, did neither they nor the other organizations with the constitutional right to do so not nominate an alternative candidate? Second: Why did the choice fall not on a professional economist or economic manager, but on the man who was responsible for ideological matters in the party? Clearly the urgent need of the moment played a part. The resignation of Z. Messner's government is only one aspect of the major changes taking place in the country, and in these conditions the PZPR Central Committee gave preference to a politician.

Polish Government press Spokesman J. Urban said at a recent press conference: If political disputes continue to take place in the sphere of the economy and at its expense, in the next century Poland risks becoming a museum of the stone age in the middle of Europe. In the present conditions in the country, any government, be it ever so wise, has little change of earning even modest applause, let alone laurels. A Sisyphean labor lies ahead for the new cabinet, if only because it will have to work in a situation in which dissatisfaction on the part of particular social groups will inevitably be a component for the next few years.

NEDELYA Reviews Polish Strike Situation

PM0710141588 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 39 26 Sep-2 Oct 88 [Signed to Press 28 Sep] pp 10, 11

[Article by Nikolay Yermolovich: "Poland: What's Happening"]

[Text] The last 2 years—1987 and 1988—have been difficult for Poland. The unusually harsh winter of 1986-1987 caused holdups virtually throughout the entire economy, in transport, power, and in industry owing to violations of raw material and fuel supplies. Meteorological conditions were extremely unfavorable for agriculture: a frosty winter, spring frosts, and rain during agricultural work. Horticulture suffered a real catastrophe—most fruit trees suffered winterkill...

This year the blows inflicted by nature have been compounded by socioeconomic upheavals. The first wave of strikes rolled across the country in May. The second, which was even more powerful, followed in August. It caused appreciable damage to the economy. The total cost of the 2 weeks of social disturbances amounted to Z53.7 billion, $20 million, and R9 million.

It cannot be denied that these are serious losses. They made one recall 1982 when the state coffers were quite empty. The incessant strikes of the early 1980's had a pernicious effect on exports (for instance, in 1981 coal extraction fell by 30 million tonnes), they completely ruined cooperation ties, and Poland's international prestige dropped.

This year—the start-up year for the second phase of economic reform—is a transitional year and, thus, most difficult. Former directive-distributional methods are no longer in operation and the new mechanisms are of limited effectiveness given the disruption of economic equilibrium. Under the prevailing situation some enterprises are taking the line of least resistance and inflating prices and wages, thus relegating to the back burner the concern to reduce production costs.

The government's attempt to resolve many problems by one rapid price increase initiated in February led to further crisis. Food products, housing, and heating became more expensive by an average of 40 percent.

Alongside the price increase there was also a "wages explosion." According to data from the National Trade Union Confederation Analysis and Study Center, in the first quarter of this year monetary remuneration in the sphere of material production in the public sector of the economy rose by 65.5 percent in comparison with the analogous period of 1987. This great increase came about to a considerable extent by making payments from the "profits fund earmarked for distribution in labor collectives."

Towards April the increase in wages had waned. But in the February-April period price increases were on an upward curve. So in transpired that in April people had already forgotten about February's substantial salary increase. But the ever higher daily increase in prices became particularly marked. In the opinion of staffers at this Center, this served as one of the factors for the social tension that produced the strikes at the end of April.

Domestic market supplies of goods and services fell as prices increased. Successive waves of panic buying—the first following the announcement last fall that the price of goods would rise shortly, then again during the strikes in May and August—prompted consumers to set about buying up everything they could find on the shelves. Stores were swept clean of the goods that had gradually appeared there after the economy had begun the difficult process of revival in 1983. "The plan to achieve many goals through a single measure proved mistaken," Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner admitted. "With higher prices the shelves in the stores should have been full. But they're empty."

The party and state leadership feel, W. Jaruzelski said, that they could not have fully assessed the extent of the danger during their search for difficult and often pioneering solutions within the framework of the second phase of reform. The reform mechanisms proved to be insufficiently effective in certain areas; this applies above all to the problems of prices and incomes. The operation to change prices did generate an improvement of the situation in the market and a deterioration was even observed in certain areas of the market. As a result some of the population do not regard reform as a process that will lead to economic improvement but only as a combination of factors reducing their standard of living.

W. Machejek, editor in chief of the weekly ZYCIE LITERACKIE, tried to analyze the current state of Polish society. "For certain strata of society (possibly, no more than 10 percent of the country's overall population)," the author writes, "there are no goods that they are unable to obtain. However, you cannot say that about the statistically average Pole, whose monthly wage—if we exclude pensioners—is Z45,000. Even workers in the relatively privileged manufacturing industry, where the average monthly wage is Z104,000 and miners, who earn Z120,000—some of which, moreover, is paid in special vouchers with which they can obtain goods in hard-currency shops—feel neglected owing to the fact that their wage rates have not been increased recently.

"The average citizen regards and continues to regard the second phase of economic reform above all as an increase in already high prices. Thought should be given to whether it was advisable to initiate economic reform given the rising inflation and the excessive issue of money without the associated provision of goods and services... Workers are dissatisfied that vigorously counteraction to inflationary processes has not been forthcoming. Polish society does not agree that during the reform period discipline is needed only for further 'belt-tightening'."

J. Urban, Polish Government press spokesman, announced at a press conference that the population's confidence in the political and state authorities was waning. Some 71 percent of those polled expressed confidence in the Polish Sejm, which corresponds with last year's level; 56 percent expressed confidence in the government, which is 10 percent less than last year; and 38 percent expressed confidence in the PZPR, which is 8 percent less in comparison with December 1987.

The insistent need to speed up the process of implementing reforms and removing the causes of dissatisfaction has emerged. In May after heated debates the Sejm adopted a law granting the Polish Council of Ministers emergency powers to implement the program for the second phase of economic reform.

Although only a few months have elapsed since then, dissatisfaction with the government not only has not lessened but has continued to increase. The Polish Sejm Extraordinary Commission to Monitor the Implementation of Economic Reform discussed the prevailing situation. J. Sablik expressed the viewpoint of the Polish Sejm Socioeconomic Council's working group on behalf of this organ. He indicated that the correct directives in the program for implementing the second phase of reform are fundamentally different from the reform that reaches enterprises in the shape of legal norms and numerous documents for the interpretation of these norms. The speaker stressed that the weakness of the programs proposed by the government stems to a considerable extent from the lack of a clearly defined—not only in the economic, but also in the political, social, and ideological spheres—and suitable conceptual model for economic restructuring. This thesis was supported by Professor J. Pajestka, who noted that the main reason for the reform's poor effectiveness was the lack of sociopolitical mechanisms enabling various forms of pressure group resistance and opposition to be overcome.

Z. Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, delivered a speech in reply. He stated that no government would be able to operate under the conditions that have taken shape in Poland. No government can calmly implement the program for the second phase of reform since people invariably demand rapid results. This leads to disorganization in the government's work. The government is blamed for all economic shortcomings and weaknesses, including those that it inherited and that it is trying to combat.

The session of Council of the the National Trade Union Confederation—which embraces almost 7 million working people—was an unprecedented event. For a number of years, the speakers pointed out, the government took no account of the stance of the National Trade Union Confederation. From 1985 onward the National Trade Union Confederation protested against galloping prices and submitted demands for the improvement of economic activity, the improvement of working people's situation, the resolution of the housing problem, and the market orientation of production. In the opinion of the National Trade Union Confederation, the continuation of government policy in the sphere of prices and income has not produced results and has caused a systematic reduction in the people's standard of living.

The trade unions have expressed their agreement with the main aims of the economic reform but they object to its practical implementation. The whole battle now is being waged around the change in the concept of management of the economy. The trade unions believe that the reform should be addressed to working people, above all those employed in state enterprises, and should become their common cause. The reform should envisage concrete measures to curb inflation and real steps to reduce production energy-intensiveness, labor-intensiveness, and material-intensiveness, broaden the provision of the market with goods, and introduce the results of technical progress at enterprises.

For the first time in the history of the socialist countries' trade unions the members of the National Trade Union Confederation Council demanded the government's resignation and called upon Sejm deputies to announce a vote of no confidence in it.

The latest session of the Polish Sejm opened Monday 19 September. Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, assessed the situation in the country saying that "public disturbances have not only intensified the sharp criticism of the authorities but have also revealed clearly the scale of the unhealthy phenomena and the possibility of another crisis... The government does not dispute the weaknesses in the country's economy cited by the commission (the Sejm Extraordinary Commission to Monitor the Implementation of Economic Reform.)... The general aim of the government's policy was to create the foundations of a modern economy subjected to rigorous economic laws and no one can deny that definite progress has been made here. But the government suffered defeat in the implementation of its prices and incomes policy and this has worsened the state of the market. Guided by the state's supreme interests and by the intention to facilitate the Sejm's adoption of the decisions that are required in this situation I announce," Z. Messner stated, "the resignation of the Council of Ministers."

The government resigned.... It included the representatives of the three allied parties (the PZPR, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party) and nonparty members. "A clear line must be drawn between party and state policy," Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, wrote in an article "The Party in the Face of New Demands" which was intended as the basis of discussion, published in TRYBUNA LUDU, and written within the framework of the preparations for the 3d Polish National Theoretical and Ideological Conference. "The PZPR is an ideological and political force and that is why its leadership is above all of an ideological and political character. This means that the party directs, leads, and serves, but does not govern or administer [uprvalayet]. The party cannot identify itself fully with the policy of the government and the administration. It must keep the requisite distance in order to keep a critical 'opposition' stance toward it without damaging the socialist state, socialism, or itself with all the consequences attendant on this."

But let us return to the August wave of strikes. This had its own distinguishing features. Firstly even at their culmination point the strikes only involved 29 enterprises out of an overall number of approximately 7,000 major enterprises in Poland. The number of people who took part in the strike actions represented an insignificant minority of workers. The point is that these were so-called "sit-in" strikes during which groups of militants [boyevik] from among the rabble-rousers staked out the entrances to plants, factories, shipyards, and ports and prevented thousands and thousands of other workers who had no wish to give up their work from getting in to work.

It reached the point where a large group of miners from Silesia sent a complaint to Professor Ewa Letowska, Polish Sejm plenipotentiary for citizens' rights. "While standing in front of the gate of the mine that has been nonoperational for 2 weeks now owing to the illegal strike," the miners wrote, "in increasing alarm we are seeking ways to remove the barriers which are devaluing for us our right to work—a right that is guaranteed by the constitution and the Labor Code ["ishchem puti ustraneniya baryerov, obespechivayushchikh (ensuring) nam pravo na trud, garantirovannoye konstitutsiyey..."] Why is this right violated with impunity by a handful of adventurers? Who is violating our rights and why?"

This is a very important letter that attests to the sentiments in Polish society and the attitude to strikes. "...The overwhelming majority of the people, including the entire Polish countryside, opposes the strikes and opposes the disruption of work. The memory of 1981 when there was only vinegar on store shelves is still extremely fresh in people's minds," the weekly ZYCIE LITERACKIE notes. "Most working people want changes but not at any cost, above all not through actions to the detriment of the economy, "TRYBUNA LUDU writes. "What were the critical majority who did not join the strikes afraid of? They feared not only the direct damage that would occur as a result of the strikes but also what they remembered of 1980-1981. They were frightened of division in labor collectives and families, especially since some of the strikes were provoked by people who had infiltrated enterprises from outside and since the striking minority sometimes employed extreme methods."

These extreme methods involved not only physical and moral terror, which the militants of illegal "Solidarity" instituted at the enterprises under their control. These methods led to the murder of a militia officer during the execution of his duties. Together with his comrades, Lieutenant Mieczyslaw Turbakiewicz was patrolling the territory of a metallurgical plant that formed part of the "Stalowa Wola" Combine and that is of defense significance. The militants, who were incited by extremists in cassocks—local parish priests—hurling insults and threats at the militia staffers who were on patrol, forcibly saw them off the plant's premises. Turbakiewicz was the last to fall in their hands. The hooligans knocked him down, beat him, and then shot him in the back of the head with the officer's own pistol. The murderers have not been discovered yet. The investigation is continuing.

Who proved particularly receptive to the calls of the rabble-rousers from illegal "Solidarity" (the rabble-rousers indisputably came from there), and became an active force of the wave of strikes? Let me cite the opinion of J. Besztyga, deputy chief of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department, voiced at a seminar of journalists from socialist countries organized by PAP. Although this opinion relates to the events of May, it is still topical today. "I must point out that it is mainly workers of peasant origin that are employed at the enterprises where the strikes occurred. Personal interests rather than public interests prevail among them and they are to a considerable extent liable to be influenced by the Catholic Church."

Furthermore: "Another reason is the emergence of young people—aged 11-12 in 1980—in the country's public life. Today they are embarking on their active working life. Most of them are dissatisfied with their material position. Among young people a group has taken shape—mainly children from unfortunate families, who have nothing to lose apart from their poverty-stricken situation. They live in plant hostels and have virtually no prospects in life. It is the representatives of these groups who were the most embittered strikers and acknowledge no authority. It must be said that they are not the enemies of socialism but are simply disappointed and embittered people, who are capable of anything."

In an interview which Mieczyslaw Rakowski (Footnote) (The Polish Sejm appointed M. Rakowski chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers 27 September), member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, gave to the FRG's DER SPIEGEL magazine, there was a question about the leaders of the strikes. "...Nonetheless one thing is clear," M. Rakowski replied, "those same representatives of 'Solidarity' who played a leading role in 1980-1981, also operated as energetic leaders during the strikes at the mines and shipyards."

"DER SPIEGEL: We don't believe that. The current initiators of the strikes are mostly young workers aged from 20 to 30, who could not, according to our calculations, have been members of the old 'Solidarity.' They have enlisted old activists because they had more experience.

"M. Rakowski: That can be said. But after any particular strike had gone on for 1-2 days the leaders of the old 'Solidarity' would suddenly reappear.

"DER SPIEGEL: What does that prove?

"M. Rakowski: That the strikes did not start spontaneously but were organized both then and now."

The greatest number of press commentaries—both Polish and foreign—have been generated by the fact that L. Walesa was received by General of Arms C. Kiszczak, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Committee To Observe the Law, Public Order and Discipline, and the "round table" meeting that they proposed. The Western mass media are increasingly speculating on the topic of the authorities' supposedly inevitable acknowledgment of the banned trade union "Solidarity." Having stressed that this kind of utterance arouses at the very least surprise, J. Urban, government press spokesman, drew attention to C. Kiszczak's statement of his readiness to begin talks without any conditions whatsoever.

The following question was asked at the press conference: "The authorities and Walesa are sitting down at the negotiating table once again. Does that not nullify the entire point of martial law and is it not an indirect acknowledgment that its introduction was an error?" In response J. Urban stated that martial law had been necessary. Without it Poland would have taken the path of confrontation rather than national accord. It is owing to martial law that the opportunity to sit down at the negotiating table has now arisen and certain figures from the former "Solidarity" have become more moderate and realistic in their views. The "round table" talks will not take place with former trade unionists but with individuals who previously belonged to these circles. They will find themselves among other, completely equal partners.

The "round table" is expected to promote the formation of a National Accord Council, whose creation W. Jaruzelski proposed 30 October 1981 but that initiative was turned down at the by the chief force to which it was addressed. It was said then that no one has the monopoly on infallibility and that the fate of the country should be linked with the evolutionary development of democratic institutions.

According to the report of a PZPR Central Committee Politburo session in which the leaders of the National Trade Union Confederation took part, the key to the success of the "round table" talks is conscientiousness and mutual trust between the partners and a sincere desire to achieve constructive results in the dialogue between the various social forces and the representatives of the various political orientations. Ultimatums and threats to disrupt public order and the work rhythm of the economy, the arousal of dangerous emotions, the creation of various organizational structures in contravention of the law, and more and more preliminary conditions contradict this interpretation of dialogue.

According to Polish press reports, the "round table" meeting will begin mid-October. There is not long to wait. Time will show whether it will justify the great hopes pinned on it.

Further on Political Crisis in Yugoslavia

Government Meets on Economy

LD1210230188 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 12 TASS—The Yugoslav Government met Tuesday to discuss ways of mending things in the national economy hit by inflation, among other issues.

It drafted a number of bills as part of preparations for economic reforms urged by the people. The measures are aimed at improving the system of public control over prices, strengthening the market-oriented mechanism of economic management, ending the monopoly of individual republics and autonomous regions that dictate prices and solve their problems through price hikes and not through better management, enhancing the role of the People's Bank of Yugoslavia in making the united domestic market stronger and implementing a uniform finance and crediting policy in the country.

The bills will be submitted to the Yugoslav parliament.

LC Sessions in Kosovo, Pristina

LD1210120988 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 12 TASS—The current tasks of Yugoslav Communists in normalising the situation in Kosovo were considered at a joint session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and the Presidium of the Kosovo Territorial Committee of the League of Communists in Pristina, the administrative centre of the Kosovo autonomous territory, point out today's press reports.

Marko Orlandic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, made a report, pointing out the exceptionally complex social and political atmosphere throughout the country, particularly in Kosovo. The situation in the territory continues to deteriorate, and there exists the possibility of an outbreak of serious inter-ethnic conflicts, including those with the use of violence, which may lead to rather hard consequences. In the existing atmosphere it is no wonder that trust in government bodies, from communal to federal level, has been lost to a considerable extent.

Marko Orlandic said the current situation was being increasingly used by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists in Kosovo and outside it.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee decided to warn the Kosovo territorial committee of the League of Communists at the 17th plenary meeting of the LCY Central Committee, the speaker said. Differentiation should be effected on the strength of this measure, first of all, in the Presidium of the Kosovo territorial committee and in the territorial committee of the League of Communists as well as in the communal committees and in all institutions of the system in the territory.

Titograd Returns to Normal

LD1210233588 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade October 12 TASS—Life in Titograd, the administrative centre of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, has come to normal after several days of street demonstrations and industrial strikes.

According to TANJUG news agency, workers have returned to work and students to schools. Common sense has won, says the newspaper POLITIKA EXPRESS in today's issue. Boris Kidric steel works has resumed operation as have the Radoe Dakic construction equipment plant in Titograd and other enterprises in the republic.

Lukyanov Receives Yugoslav Parliamentarians

PM1210120788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cooperation Developing"]

[Text] The dynamic development of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the SFRY, which are based on the principles of the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia, is being enriched with new facets. This was emphasized during a friendly conversation in the Kremlin on 11 October between A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a Yugoslav parliamentary delegation led by A. Simovic, chairman of the Federal Chamber Foreign Policy Committee of the SFRY Federal Assembly.

The sides expressed mutual satisfaction with the strengthening of diverse ties between the two countries, including ties between representative organs of power, and also with the establishment of direct contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' commissions and the SFRY Federal Assembly committees. The sides expressed their belief in the usefulness of exchanging experience between working bodies of the two countries' parliaments with regard to the drafting of legislation, the implementation of economic and social policy, and in other areas.

Opinions were exchanged on solutions to urgent problems concerning the two countries' socioeconomic development. A.I. Lukyanov told the Yugoslav comrades about progress made in the reform of the Soviet political system, as outlined by the 19th all-union party conference, which is intended to strengthen real people's power and enhance the role of the soviets, including the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the life of the country and the implementation of domestic and foreign policy. He stressed the importance of the conference decision to underpin soviet sovereignty with party authority in order to improve the effectiveness of political institutions and successfully resolve the large-scale tasks of restructuring and the socialist renewal of society.

A. Simovic noted that Soviet-Yugoslav relations are in the ascendant and that the SFRY ardently welcomes restructuring in the Soviet Union, stressing that the transformations being made in the Soviet Union are helping to establish the new political thinking in international relations.

The sides noted with satisfaction the positive trend toward a healthier international climate and the increase in constructive dialogue between different countries. Both sides expressed the opinion that a very important task of today is to ensure that the disarmament process now begun is ongoing and irreversible, in which a considerable role can be played by cooperation between the parliaments of all interested states.

V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, and M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

The Yugoslav delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

SFRY Foreign Policy Group Leaves Moscow

LD1210231988 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—A delegation of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Federal Executive Council and the Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Federal Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia left Moscow for home today.

The delegation stayed in the USSR at the invitation of the Foreign Relations Commissions of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

West Europe

Further on Shevardnadze Visit to France

PRAVDA on 11 Oct Dinner Speech

PM1210200388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report on Shevardnadze speech delivered at dinner given in his honor by French Foreign Minister R. Dumas on 11 October in Paris carried under general heading "E.A. Shevardnadze in France. The Exchange of Views Continues"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Minister!

Esteemed Madame Dumas!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Speaking here, in Paris, 3 October 1985, M.S. Gorbachev called for the book of nuclear "alchemy" to be burned. I imagine that to most people at the time these words seemed a metaphor, far removed from political reality. However, less than 3 years had passed when the first steps toward the public destruction of nuclear missiles informed the world that the mode of new thinking is becoming a mode of new actions.

History quickens its pace when it is propelled by a great idea which is truly shared by mankind.

True, it does not always happen.

It is appropriate to recall this here, in the capital of France, which in the words of a Russian writer became the bell-tower of the world, from whose height three peals rang out throughout the earth: liberty, equality, fraternity.

The ideas of the great French Revolution—whose bicentenary will be widely marked in the Soviet Union, too—inspired many countries. However, even two centuries later—I quote President Mitterrand—there are still many bastilles which have not yet been stormed.

The advance of a great idea quickens the pace of history when this idea is grasped by people who are responsible for the fate of the world.

I believe that this truth is now getting a stronger hold on people's minds. It is within our power today to develop this idea into a political and moral imperative, because we already have examples of the new political conduct in universal interests.

The Soviet Union and France can add to these examples, and it is in this that we see the most important task of our current talks. Speaking in more concrete terms, we are faced with the task of deepening Soviet-French dialogue and preparing the ground for the upcoming contacts at summit level which, we are convinced, will launch Soviet-French relations into a new, more vigorous stage of development.

We have embarked on our task with the beginning of the process of real disarmament already behind us. The elaboration of the treaty on 50-percent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms under conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty is advancing, albeit not without difficulties. Progress has begun to show in the settlement of regional conflicts. All the preconditions exist for talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe to open within the current year.

The ideas expressed recently at the United Nations by the president of France have markedly advanced preparations for the conclusion of a historic convention on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons. We listened with heightened attention to the ideas on monitoring and verification as new measures of glasnost and trust supplementing the provisions elaborated in Helsinki.

So that here, too, an important sphere of mutual understanding and consequently also collaboration between our countries is beginning to emerge.

Almost all the members of the international community have noted the increased peacemaking potential of the United Nations. Its rebirth is in everyone's interests. As two permanent members of the Security Council, the USSR and France can do a great deal to promote this.

All political constructions are measured in human terms. Time has thrown the human dimension of regional and universal security in any sphere—be it military activity, the economy, or ecology—sharply into focus.

After M.S. Gorbachev first mentioned the idea of a common European home in an interview for French television in October 1985, this idea is, through the efforts of many of its coauthors, gradually beginning to take on the shape of a harmonious concept and the chances of its implementation are growing.

Our talks have shown that the views of the Soviet Union and France on the need for a swift and fruitful conclusion of the All-European meeting in Vienna are close to each other. We have mutual understanding on questions of security and disarmament. It would be a great pity if because of differences as to the venue of a conference on humanitarian cooperation we failed to achieve a consensus during the final lap. No one has a monopoly when it comes to the right to speak out on human rights, nor can there be such a monopoly. Respecting France's wish to hold the conference in Paris, we see a possibility for its continuation in stages in Copenhagen and Moscow, making sure that the geographic factor does not eclipse the human factor.

Once, when Peter I saw a globus in the French capital with an incorrect representation of his own country, he corrected the mistake himself. What we have to do is to correct the distorted views which we have of each other, especially since today we are no longer what we were yesterday. And since we are talking about great men, I would like to quote Jean-Jacques Rousseau who said: "Anything that is a moral evil, is an evil in politics too." Allow me to note that we subscribe to this maxim.

The restructuring in our country has encompassed all spheres from the political sphere to the spiritual sphere. Our trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties with many countries of the West are also being reshaped. However, the ensemble of new cooperation which is developing is lacking a strong French component.

Unfortunately, the reciprocal flow in the arteries of cultural exchange which at one time predetermined particularly vigorous political and other contacts between our countries is weakening. Because of this anemia in the sphere of literature and art, publishing and the theater, the colors of the national images created over centuries by the genius of our peoples are paling. There is absolutely no explanation for the fact that there is no agreement on cultural cooperation between the USSR and France.

We do not want the picture of Soviet-French cultural, scientific, and economic ties to share its name for long with the title of a canvas by a Russian artist, "Everything

"Is in the Past." May these ties acquire a new future. However, in order to achieve this it is necessary to put in some work right now. And that applies to us as well as you.

We would like to believe that we are embarking on a new stage of cooperation both in international and in Soviet-French relations. I am convinced that the talks which we had with the president of France, the prime minister, and you Mr Minister, have made it possible to choose the best ways to this end.

May they be broadened with every passing day. I combine the hope that this will happen with my wishes for your and Madame Dumas' good health and wishes of happiness and prosperity to all our colleagues.

The ministers' speeches were listened to with great attention and met with applause.

The dinner passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Consultations End 12 Oct

LD1210161188 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—The foreign ministers of the USSR and France held the concluding meeting today. Accounts of the working groups were heard, and the results of Soviet-French negotiations were summed up in the course of the meeting.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Roland Dumas expressed confidence that the exchange of opinions held in Paris on a broad range of international problems and questions of bilateral Soviet-French relations had been useful and successful. It promoted better mutual understanding, broader areas of concord. The negotiations were an important stage in preparations for the forthcoming Soviet-French summit meetings.

Addresses UNESCO Meeting

LD1210140288 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—The Soviet Union wants the noble activities of UNESCO aimed at the consolidation of peace and security through the expansion of mutual understanding among nations to meet even more fully present-day requirements and the present level of world outlook, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, stated today.

Speaking at the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), he pointed out that the Soviet Union was reconsidering its approach to many international organizations, specifically economic ones, and sought to occupy a proper place there. "It regards in a new light its role in UNESCO as well. Now that the ideas of its founders who foresaw the unique role of intellectual, cultural and ethical factors of policy in conditions of an integrated world are acquiring a new scope, nothing is more important to us than the promotion of the humanization of international relations, the overcoming of cultural estrangement and of their alienation from the ways and means of saving the very foundations of life on earth".

In these conditions the problem of the international, all-human function of science and the overcoming of trends towards the monopolization of scientific and technological finds which still predominate has become rather acute. We should decide on the basis of a principled and practical point of view if protectionism, monopolism in science, technology and information, as well as other restrictions meet the interests of peace and humanity, as well as of separate states.

The Soviet Union which actively supports the world decade of cultural development announced by UNESCO would like the decade to actively promote the idea of a universal nature of cultural values, of their global and all-human character in the setting of the preservation of cultural heritage. We hope that the implementation of a program of the world decade of cultural development will consolidate the will of nations to prevent the erosion of moral and cultural values, Shevardnadze said. Within the framework of the program the Soviet Union is ready to hold in Moscow a representative international symposium whose theme would be "the heritage of mankind must be passed over to the third millenium".

Shevardnadze recalled that Mikhail Gorbachev had voiced recently the intention of the Soviet Union to place at the disposal of scientists of the whole world a radar station near Krasnoyarsk. "We would welcome a UNESCO initiative aimed at the creation of an international group of scientists that would conduct peaceful space exploration at the absolutely peaceful Krasnoyarsk radar station. Soviet scientists are ready to contact corresponding UNESCO bodies for the purpose of starting a practical realization of this idea".

More money will be needed in the future for the implementation of UNESCO programs. In our opinion, real disarmament and the reduction of military budgets could be a source of it. Today we could map out already studies in this sphere, Shevardnadze pointed out.

Holds News Conference

LD1210221988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1855 GMT 12 Oct 88

[From the "Restructuring Spotlight" program; report on news conference by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, on 12 October at the USSR Embassy in France—recorded; questions from unidentified correspondents in French with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] The Embassy of the Soviet Union in France, the main conference room of the embassy. Here French and foreign journalists have gathered. Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, is giving a news conference on the results of his official visit to France. Describing the essence of the talks that have taken place in Paris, Comrade Shevardnadze said, in particular, the following:

[Shevardnadze] First of all, as you know an understanding has been prepared with regard to a visit by Mr Mitterrand, the president of France, to the Soviet Union at the end of November this year, and the visit by Mikhail Segeyevich Gorbachev to France in the first half of next year. The two consecutive summits will undoubtedly raise Soviet-French relations onto a new, higher level. Second, these conversations in Paris have revealed a notable rapprochement of positions on a variety of central international problems. In the first instance, these are the banning and elimination of chemical weapons, the removal of imbalances and assymetries in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, a real reduction of conventional weapons, a real lessening of military confrontation, keeping space peaceful, and the settling of regional conflicts.

Third, areas of agreement have broadened and priorities have been established for Soviet-French cooperation in such spheres as economics, science, culture, and youth exchanges. It is proposed that for the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to France, a series of major agreements and major contracts can be prepared for signing during the visit. We say that the very logic of development has predetermined the striving of the Soviet Union and France to raise their relations onto a level worthy of their political, economic, and creative potential. It is appropriate to view these talks—Soviet-French talks—in this context. On every point of the agenda they have revealed significant progress. They have borne witness to the fact that France supports the efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States on concluding a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in stratetic offensive weapons. The Soviet Union and France are united on the necessity of keeping space peaceful. I consider this a fundamental question and speak out for observing the ABM Treaty.

The proposals submitted by the French president in his recent speech to the UN General Assembly promote progress toward the logical conclusion of preparations for a convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. Here we have almost complete coincidence of views, if one judges from the results of our discussions and talks.

The proximity of the approaches of the USSR and France toward the problems of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe is more than obvious. Both our countries speak out in favor of talks starting on this subject as soon as possible, either this year or at the very beginning of next year.

On regional conflicts, we discussed the Afghanistan situation, the positions in the Near East, the prospects of a settlement in Cambodia, the Lebanon situation, and certain other regional aspects and problems. Here, to put it frankly, the positions of our countries have much in common. We adhere to the idea, which we share, on the need to fully implement the Geneva agreements and to utilize the United Nations to stop their continuous violation. It is to be hoped that France will in reality promote this process. I am referring to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

We were interested in our French colleagues' idea, in the context of the common European home, to consider the concept of a European community under law. This is undoubtedly an interesting idea. It presupposes a comparison of the legal practices of European states and the highlighting of common norms in defending human rights.

An important understanding was reached on the renewal of talks concerned with concluding an intergovernmental cultural agreement. In the framework of talks, the French proposal on opening cultural centers for our countries in Moscow and Paris can be thoroughly examined.

We also agreed in principle to start preparing an agreement—and we attach great importance to this—on youth contacts and exchanges.

On the threshold of celebrations for the 200th anniversary of the great French Revolution, the two sides will hold discussions on a routine program of cultural and scientific exchanges in 1989-1990.

They were good talks, targeted at their result, a final result. I want to thank my colleague, Mr Roland Dumas, and his colleagues for this. President Mitterrand of France held a profound conversation with us. Of course, the meeting and dialogue with the French prime minister impressed me. The meetings with the president of the National Assembly and the president of the Senate were productive. We chatted in a spirit of comradeship and complete mutual understanding on a wide range of international problems with Comrade Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party. In a word, in our opinion the visit was successful, and our delegation is leaving Paris in a good mood, with good news for the Soviet people, who are true and devoted friends of France.

[Announcer] Answers were then given to journalists' questions.

[Correspondent] Mr Minister, a question on the problem of disarmament. What do France and the USSR have in common on this question? And what separates them on various aspects of this problem? For example, what could hinder an agreement on reducing conventional weapons today?

[Shevardnadze] We note significant progress in France' position on conventional weapons. I am thinking first of all of several ideas that were put forward by President Mitterrand at the 43d UN General Assembly session. Many of the ideas expressed by the president on this question share common ground with the positions put forward by the leaders of the countries of the Warsaw Pact in Warsaw, with our platform, with our approaches on reducing conventional weapons. They are: removing imbalances and assymetries; starting serious talks in the near future; completing the Vienna meeting; and agreeing on a mandate.

The president came out in favor of forming zones of decreased military confrontation. This idea also corresponds with our approaches and with our friends' initiatives. You will remember in this connection the very important initiatives by Comrade Jaruzelski and Comrade Jakes and other leaders of the countries of the socialist community. So there really have been important changes in this respect; in our view, important progress which gives us the possibility of counting on success at the talks when they begin.

[Correspondent] I should like to ask your opinion of the events in Algeria. Several governments are making no pronouncements. What is your opinion about these events?

[Shevardnadze] I can only speak about what I would like to happen. Algeria is a country that is friendly toward us, and certainly we do not feel indifferent about what is happening in that country. We desire that all problems and questions worrying public representatives be solved through political means, political methods. I think the Algerian leadership has enough experience, enough political wisdom, and enough will to find the means and possibilities to solve the questions in this way, in this spirit.

[Correspondent] Comrade Minister, not so very long ago the relations of our two states were described as privileged, by both the Soviet Union and France. Have you gained the impression during your meetings and talks in Paris that some time in the future these relations will again receive the title of privileged in the diplomatic dictionary?

[Shevardnadze] I shall answer your question. It seems to me that everything I have said, both on the specific results of our talks and the fact that we have set dates for a summit meeting—have set out the principles and agenda for the discussion of problems at a summit meeting—and the general atmosphere of our talks confirm that Soviet-French relations do indeed remain privileged, of a privileged nature. This stresses our responsibleness, France' and the Soviet Union's, and the fact that we have demonstrated it in action, so to speak, precisely in the domain of cooperation on a whole range of problems.

[Correspondent] You said that the problems of the Near East were discussed at the talks. What is the current situation with regard to Soviet-U.S. talks on the Near East?

[Shevardnadze] I think that one could draw this conclusion on this matter: If the approach and position of the Soviet Union and France on establishing a preparatory committee for the convocation of an international conference had been accepted several years ago, when that idea was proposed, we would have made significant progress on a Near East settlement. Now, without going into details, what unites us and the United States? I mean what principle, what general approach? Now both the United States and the Soviet Union, and all the permanent members of the Security Council, the Arab states, and other states too, consider and share the opinion that it is essential to convene a conference, an international conference, and in the framework of that conference to seek an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict and a settlement of the Near East conflict.

[Correspondent] Could you please reply to this question: After the recent Central Committee plenum, who is now No 2 in the party? [laughter]

[Shevardnadze] We do not have such an enumeration. [laughter]

All members of the Politburo, all secretaries of the Central Committee are responsible for certain sections, for certain areas. All of this has been made public and published. I think that everything has been said on this.

[Correspondent in Russian] [words indistinct]

[Shevardnadze] As far as occasions when, for instance, the general secretary is away on vacation or on a working trip, on a journey or a visit, and so on, the Politburo collectively decides whom to entrust with conducting the affairs, as we say, of the whole shop.

Notes 'Success' of Visit

LD1210145188 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—"Some of your colleagues hastened to predict the success of our visit. My congratulations. They have not been mistaken". These were the opening words of member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in his speech at a news conference today on the results of an official visit to France.

"First, agreement has been formalised on a visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to the Soviet Union late in November of this year and on a visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to France in the first half of next year", he said. "These meetings will undoubtedly bring Soviet-French relations on a new, higher plane. Second, the current conversations in Paris established a considerable rapprochement of the stands on a number of cardinal international problems. Third, the zones of concord have widened and priorities of Soviet-French cooperation were outlined in such areas as economy, science, culture, youth exchanges".

"A great deal has been achieved over the period that passed since the previous meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand in 1985", the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry went on. "The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed and is being implemented, the Geneva accords on a political settlement relating to Afghanistan have been concluded, hope emerged that other regional problems will be settled".

"The Soviet-French dialogue continued all these years", he said. "And still at some moment, foreign policy priorities of the USSR and France objectively diverged for a certain period of time. But as objective a course of things has overcome this anomoly. [sentence as received] The very logic of the development predetermined the striving of the Soviet Union and France to place their relations on a level commensurate with their political, economic, creative potentials".

"Progress has come to light on all the items of the agenda at the current talks. They proved that France goes along with the efforts of the USSR and the USA to conclude a treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive arms. The USSR and France are united in the opinion about the need to keep outer space peaceful, declare for the observance of the treaty on the limitaton of anti-ballistic missile systems. The proposals made by the French president in his recent speech at the session of the United Nations General Assembly promote the advance to a logical conclusion of the preparaton of a convention on banning and elimination of chemical weapons. And we have an almost complete coincidence of views on this. The closeness of the approaches of the USSR and France to the problem of the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe is even more obvious. I would like to point with satisfaction to the closeness of views on prospects of the conclusion of the Vienna meeting." "We have discussed the situation around Afghanistan, the Middle East situation, prospects for the Kampuchean settlement", Eduard Shevardnadze said. "There is much in common in the stands of our countries on this. We have a consensus on the need to fulfil the Geneva accords in full volume, to cut short by the means of the United Nations their constant violation. The developments in the Middle East show convincingly that the quest of an overall durable and fair settlement is possible only in the framework of an international conference. An international dialogue on the Kampuchean settlement that has opened should be supported by those who regard themselves to be Kampuchea's friends".

"We have proposed to the French side to place a humanitarian dialogue on a regular basis, to reach agreement on contacts between representatives of the public, specialists, experts. We have become interested in the idea of French colleagues to think out a concept of European legal community in the context of a common European home. An important arrangement has been reached on the resumption of the talks to conclude an intergovernmental cultural agreement".

"The main components of our success are mutual benevolence, tolerance to the opinion of the partner and the readiness if not to accept it then at least to consider it", the minister said.

Comments on Middle East Issues

LD1210180288 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—Answering questions from reporters at a news conference held here today, Eduard Shevardnadze noted that concrete results of the Soviet-French negotiations held confirm special relations between the USSR and France. Appraising France's stand in the area of disarmament, he emphasised that considerable progress had been made in this area.

The question of creating a united market in 1993 is widely discussed in Western Europe now, Eduard Shevardnadze went on. A great deal of efforts will be needed for the practical implementation of this concept. Integrational processes take place in Europe—in the West and in the East. They have a bearing on East-West relations. In this connection he emphasised the importance of the recent establishment of relations between the USSR and the EEC, between CMEA and the EEC. If this process continues and cooperation strengthens, this will help overcome the present economic split of Europe, he said.

Touching upon the Middle East situation, the minister noted that many countries now hold that an international conference on the Middle East settlement should be convened. It is necessary to set up a preparatory committee with the participation of representatives of permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all the parties concerned to determine the objectives, contents and form of so large an international forum.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1725 GMT on 12 October carries a similar report on Shevardnadze's press conference, rendering the preceding paragraph as follows: "Touching upon the Middle East situation, he stressed that if the approach of the USSR and France to the creation of a preparatory committee on the convening of an international conference on a Near East settlement had been adopted earlier, then the situation in that region now would be much better. Now, many states share the opinion of the need to convene such a conference capable of achieving the cessation of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Setting up a preparatory committee with the participation of permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the parties concerned is necessary in order to determine the objectives, contents, and form of so large an international forum."]

Asked about prospects for restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, Eduard Shevardnadze answered he cannot say anything new. Contacts were made, including meetings of foreign ministers, a meeting with the Israeli prime minister. There are consular contacts. If the international conference on the Middle East opens, that is real process of settlement is started, such relations can be resumed.

Answering a question about the appraisal of the situation in Algeria in the context of the latest events he said: "Algeria is a country friendly to the Soviet Union and we are not indifferent to what is taking place in Algeria. We wish the Algerian leadership which has experience and wisdom the ability to resolve problems by political means."

A question was raised about the role that France could play in bringing about the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war captured in Afghanistan. "We have the impression that France can use its opportunities to promote an overall settlement relating to Afghanistan, also the release of prisoners-of-war," the USSR foreign minister said.

Leaves Paris for Home

LD1210161488 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Paris October 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee, left Paris for home today.

He had been staying here on an official visit at the invitation of the French Government.

Further on Vranitzky Visit to Moscow

Signs Trade Protocols

PM1310134588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Soviet-Austrian Talks"]

[Text] The 3d day of the visit to the Soviet Union by Chancellor F. Vranitzky of Austria began with his participation in the ceremonial signing of agreements between Austrian firms and Soviet foreign trade organizations in Moscow 12 October. The documents included a protocol on the creation of a joint engineering firm for the planning, delivery, and commissioning of equipment for metallurgical plants; a contract on the modernization and equipping of the "Balchug" hotel in Moscow; and a protocol on the creation of an enterprise for the planning of tourist services and buildings.

The interest in Soviet-Austrian trade and economic cooperation, which has been given a new boost during the federal chancellor's visit to the Soviet Union, is great. This was convincingly shown by the meeting of representatives of the two countries' business circles held in the packed USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center immediately after the signing ceremony.

Addressing the meeting, F. Vranitzky talked about the Austrian economy and gave his thoughts on prospects for the development of Soviet-Austrian relations. Our country, he noted, has had a tradition of constructive cooperation with the USSR for decades now. In the ebb and flow of international politics it has always regarded relations with the Soviet Union as equally important and has not felt the effect of fluctuating international conditions on its policy. I regard the development of bilateral relations as highly positive and found confirmation of that in my constructive conversations with M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov.

After highly praising the program of reforms for the modernization of the economy that is being conducted in the USSR, the guest stressed that Austria is ready to take part in this process. We have been watching the restructuring of the economy in the USSR with attention and understanding, he said. It provides new opportunities for the intensification of economic cooperation between our countries. The potential which the sides have in this sphere must be used even more effectively in the future.

Among the promising spheres the chancellor named were shipbuilding, consumer goods production, the modernization of existing industrial facilities, the secondary use of industrial waste products, and the services sector.

The Soviet state's economic concept, said V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is based on the premise that the broad use of the potential and advantages of the international division of labor is an objective necessity. We see this as an important means of supporting and strengthening peaceful and good-neighborly relations among states and reciprocal cooperation in the solution of national economic problems. Soviet-Austrian relations, including those in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation, have been successfully developing and strengthening for over 30 years on the basis of the 1955 State Treaty and the Law on Austria's Permanent Neutrality. There is full justification for the view that relations between the Soviet Union and Austria are an example of mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social systems. Our economic ties are based on the principles of the sides' equality of rights, respect for state and national sovereignty, mutual advantage, trust, and the conscientious fulfillment of the commitments adopted by the sides.

The Soviet leadership, V.M. Kamentsev stressed, regards the prospects for cooperation with Austria as good and intends to continue working to strengthen and broaden them in the spirit of amicability and in the light of mutual interests.

The representatives of the two countries' business circles held a constructive dialogue on ways to achieve more effective cooperation in the sphere of joint projects. The meeting passed in a businesslike and amicable atmosphere fully reflecting the sides' sincere striving to maintain their interest in each other.

Discusses Scientific Cooperation

LD1210200388 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 123 TASS—Austria's Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky today held a discussion at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The academy president, Guriy Marchuk, described the activity of the major scientific centre and main directions in the development of Soviet science.

They exchanged views on ways of deepening cooperation between Soviet and Austrian scientists and discussed prospects of establishing joint ventures and conducting joint scientific research.

The two sides stressed the importance of pooling their countries' efforts in environmental protection.

Holds News Conference

LD1210173188 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—"Our current visit to the Soviet Union has become an important composite part of the efforts toward qualitative improvement and deepening of our bilateral relations," Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, said at a news conference here today.

Highly appraising a conversation with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev and negotiations with Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, the head of the Austrian Government emphasised the striving of both sides to place mutual relations on a qualitatively new, higher level. For this purpose, alongside the existing forms of contacts, it has been decided to form groups of experts in both countries who will consider topical questions of interaction.

The federal chancellor informed journalists in detail about the discussion of prospects for the development of business cooperation in various areas—technological exchange, power, tourism, medicine, management, etc. He said all this had shown that Austria and the Soviet Union, countries belonging to so different social systems, can cooperate successfully.

Franz Vranitzky said much attention had been given to questions of international politics. He confirmed the striving of his government to support any steps leading to disarmament, spoke highly of the positive changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The chancellor supported the idea of creating nuclear free zones, confirmed the readiness of his country to support any efforts in the direction of ensuring stable peace without armaments and wars. Franz Vranitzky expressed the hope for an early successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He vigorously supported the Soviet Union's initiative for the holding of a European conference on humanitarian matters in Moscow.

The head of the Government of the Republic of Austria set out in detail the stand of his cabinet on Austria's possible participation in the EEC. In this connection Franz Vranitzky made the assurances that Austria would be unswervingly adhering to perpetual neutrality.

Summing up the results of the conversations in Moscow, Franz Vranitzky noted that relations between Austria and the USSR are not affected by political circumstantial considerations.

Interviewed on Talks

LD1210224188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2015 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Interview with Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky by television commentator Aleksandr Zholkver; date, place not given—recorded; Vranitzky and Zholkver speak in German with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Zholkver] Mr Chancellor, I recall that during a press conference in Vienna during the visit of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Austria in July of last year, you expressed the hope for a further broadening and activization of Austrian-Soviet relations. Have these hopes of yours been justified during the course of your current visit to Moscow?

[Vranitzky] Yes, my hopes have been justified. We have concluded a lot of work during this visit. Particular attention has been focused on the development of economic relations between our countries. The potential that we intend to utilize amounts, first and foremost, to the fact that we have decided not to restrict our economic relations to trade in just individual types of commodities. We are moving over to this—to a higher, more qualitative level of cooperation. I am talking about cooperation not in one single, but in several spheres of production at the same time, aimed at joint activity for a longer period. This will detemine our economic cooperation over the course of a number of years; for example, in projects to protect the environment, to develop medical technology, tourism, and the general infrastructure.

[Zholkver] I recall that during your meeting with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov in Linz with representatives from Austrian business circles, there was a discussion about overcoming the negative trends that existed in Austrian- Soviet trade at that time. Has this been achieved, and have you been able to restore its positive development?

[Vranitzky] First of all, I would like to note that our mutual economic relations have become more active. This is connected both with an improvement in the overall economic situation in the world and with the greater efforts made on both sides. The imbalance in our trade has been reduced, and I think that as time goes by it will be completely overcome, because we are striving to arrange the exchange of trade and services in such a way that the volume of supplies from Austria to the USSR corresponds approximately to the extent of your country's supplies to Austria. There are a number of very interesting projects here: for example, on various uses of metals—or on supplies in one aspect of aluminum, as well as the foil manufactured from it. Or, for example, in 1991-92 it is proposed to embark on the implementation of another big project—to supply more electricity from the USSR to Austria.

[Zholkver] And what do you think of the possibility of setting up joint Soviet-Austrian enterprises?

[Vranitzky] This is perfectly possible. I have just had talks on this question today. I was asked what new decisions should be adopted for this, and I replied that, in my opinion, the fewer regulations there are in setting up joint enterprises, the better it will be for them to have the maximum freedom of operation. This applies to both the Austrain and the Soviet sides. Everthing depends on the type of long-term project. I will again give you a specific example. We have reached an agreement on taking joint measures to set up winter sports centers in the Soviet Union.

[Zholkver] And the construction of hotels?

[Vranitzky] Not only that. We are talking about more: the construction of hotels, laying down ski slopes, and building chair lifts and cable cars; and the joint exploitation of these centers of sport and tourism. In order for all this to function well, we must have freedom of operation.

[Zholkver] We will now go on to another topic. Vienna is well-known as the site of a whole series of international conferences. Perhaps they drag out a bit because of the famous Viennese hospitality. How are things now, for example, at the general European meeting in Vienna?

[Vranitzky] I will note first of all that the hospitality in Moscow is also marvelous. As for the Vienna meeting, it is approaching completion. The prospects are quite good. In any case the final documents are expected to be signed in the next few weeks, this year. True, a few unsolved questions remain, but I think that it will be possible to reach an agreement on them. I spoke about this yesterday to President Gorbachev, and we decided that the delegations from our two countries will give the Vienna talks extra impetus. We shall do this as organizers, as catalists of a sort, of the Vienna meeting. We have a great interest in it being completed speedily and successfully. We are planning to begin fresh talks immediately after this.

[Zholkver] Also in Vienna?

[Vranitzky] Yes, in Vienna. The Soviet side supports the proposal to choose Vienna as the site of the talks on such an important question of interest to the USSR as the reduction of conventional weapons. We in Austria do not have nuclear weapons, and we are very interested in cutting conventional weapons. It is very important for a small country that there be a guarantee that a cut in nuclear weapons should not be accompanied, or be undermined, by an increase in conventional weapons. I would add to this that in my opinion it is quite cynical to speak of conventional weapons as if they were harmless.

[Zholkver] Really, the modern so-called conventional weapons today are no less destructive than nuclear ones.

[Vranitzky] Yes, after all, since the last war those weapons have developed so much that they have become extremely dangerous.

[Zholkver] And now another question. As far as I know, your government is also a supporter of the idea of a common European home. What possible contribution do you think Austria can make to the construction of such a home?

[Vranitzky] Yes, in principle we support this idea, and this is in accordance with the policy that Austria has been following for many decades. We want to be open with regard to both social systems existing in Europe. It is on this basis that over the last decade we have managed to develop our relations with the USSR and other states in East Europe positively. We have had no hesitations in this regard. We have never joined in any measures against the East European countries. We have always maintained good relations with them, and this is good groundwork for the future. Speaking of the future, we want to develop these relations not only economically, but in science and technology, with joint research, in culture, of course, and politically.

[Zholkver] Perhaps in environmental protection?

[Vranitzky] Yes, of course. We work especially closely here with the countries of East Europe. My current visit to Moscow, the numerous conversations there have been here with Mr Gorbachev, Mr Ryzhkov, and other prominent Soviet figures, have laid a good basis for all this great and important work.

[Zholkver] Thank you, Mr Federal Chancellor, for this interview.

Gerasimov Cited on EEC Membership

LD1110141788 Moscow World Service in English 0410 GMT 11 Oct 88

[From the "Update" program with Dmitriy Linnik and Yuriy Reshetnikov]

[Excerpts] [Linnik] The Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived in Moscow on Monday for a 4-day official visit. His agenda includes talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. What issues are likely to be discussed during the Austrian chancellor's visit to the Soviet Union?

[Reshetnikov] Well, Chancellor Vranitzky's visit is expected to focus primarily on economic issues. [passage omitted]

[Linnik] Last month Austria's Foreign Minister Alois Mock visited the Soviet Union in an effort to explain his country's foreign policy. Soviet and Austrian officials specifically discussed Austria's plans of closer trade links with the European Economic Community. The Soviet side has publicly expressed reservations about the plans of merging Austria's economy with those of the EEC member nations. Why is that?

[Reshetnikov] Well, it is not a matter of which countries Austria chooses for its trading partners. It is entirely up to the Austrian people and their government to decide. We realize that members of the European Economic Community are Austria's natural economic partners, and their combined market must be the most lucrative for that country. However, Austria's formal entry into the EEC takes on an altogether different political dimension. Suffice it to say that 11 out of 12 members of the EEC are also members of the NATO military alliance. For all practical purposes the EEC has become a community sharing economic, political, and military obligations for that matter. According to Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov, Austria's membership in the EEC would be incompatible with its permanent neutrality, enshrined in the special constitutional act, (?and in the) treaty of 1955. So apart from the economic issues on the agenda, Chancellor Vranitzky will try and explain this political dilemma to his Soviet hosts.

Vranitzky Departs 13 October

LD1310114888 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 13 TASS—Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky left Moscow today after staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Franz Vranitzky and his wife were seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his wife. The send-off party included Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Mikhail Smirtyukov, senior executive officer of the USSR Council of Ministers, Ministers of the USSR Mikhail Busygin and Aleksandr Volkov, Viktor Komplektov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Soviet Ambassador to Austria Gennadiy Shikin and other officials.

Also present was Austria's Ambassador to the USSR Herbert Grubmayer.

The state flags of Austria and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport. A guard of honour of the troops of the Moscow garrison was lined up at the airfield. The orchestra played the national anthems of the two countries.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and Franz Vranitzky reviewed the guard of honour.

The send-off ceremony ended with the march-past of the troops.

UK Defense Secretary Cited on Arms Strategy

PM1310122988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Speech by G. Younger"]

[Text] Brighton, 12 Oct—The British Conservatives welcome the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles while at the same time expressing resolute support for NATO policy and the strategy of effective "deterrence" in the field of conventional and nuclear arms. That was the main content of the resolution on defense policy approved by the delegates to the annual conference of the ruling Conservative Party which is taking place here.

Summing up the results of the debates on the Tories' military policy, the country's defense secretary, G. Younger, approved on the government's behalf the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles whose importance, he said, "cannot be overestimated." The head of the military department stressed that the destruction of this class of nuclear arms is a "tremendous victory" and asserted that the withdrawal from British soil of the first two U.S. cruise missiles in early September this year was "the happiest day in his life." He wished success to the restructuring processes taking place in the USSR and expressed himself in favor of a 50-percent reduction of the strategic nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States and the elimination of chemical weapons. But....

It turned out that it was these "buts" which in fact made up the basis of G. Younger's present speech. While welcoming the restructuring processes "in the East," the head of the military department immediately stipulated that they are generating "a sense of false security" in the West inasmuch as, he said, "there is no real evidence that the USSR has stopped building up its military power." Touching on the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, Younger stated that its signing became possible thanks to NATO's "firmness and resolve," manifested in the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles and Pershing-2 missiles on West European territory. The words "Soviet Union" and "potential aggressor" sounded like synonyms in the secretary's speech.

The head of the military department noted proudly that during the Conservatives' 9 years in power the country's military expenditure has increased 20 percent in real terms and promised the delegates to continue to build military policy on the basis of NATO strategic concepts and the principles of "deterrence" in the field of nuclear and conventional arms.

Yakovlev Receives West German Ambassador

LD1210130188 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received the West German ambassador to the USSR, Andreas Meyer-Landrut.

They examined a broad range of questions of the further development of Soviet-West German relations in the light of the forthcoming visit to the USSR by West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Condolences Offered on Death of FRG's Strauss

PM1110141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to FRG Embassy"]

[Text] On 10 October V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy foreign minister, visited the FRG Embassy in Moscow in connection with the death of F.-J. Strauss, prime minister of Bavaria and chairman of the Christian Social Union, and signed the mourning book of condolences.

W. Berlin Party Urges Reduced Allied Presence

PM1110101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent S. Zyubanov report: "Combat Program"]

[Text] West Berlin, 8 Oct—A plenum of the board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin [SEW] has been held. It adopted the party's election program. The program states that the SEW is approaching the 29 January 1989 election to the city's house of representatives—the West Berlin parliament—with combat slogans rallying people to struggle for the right to work and live in peace and democracy. The prestige of the SEW in the eyes of the city's working people has increased in recent years. They regard it as a principled, uncompromising opposition to the ruling Christian Democratic Union-Free Democratic Party coalition.

At a news conference called to announce the election program, Chairman of the SEW Board Horst Schmitt said that the West Berlin communists favor sensible approaches and effective reforms.

As a first step toward involving the city in the process of all-European detente, they propose a reduction of the U.S., British, and French occupation forces in West Berlin to symbolic dimensions.

The SEW attaches special importance to the strict implementation of the four-power agreement on West Berlin and takes the view that the great opportunities inherent in that agreement are by no means fully utilized at the moment.

Portuguese Tribunal Annuls Agreement With U.S.

LD1210064588 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Lisbon October 12 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Reshetilov reports:

The Constitutional Tribunal of Portugal has recognized as unconstitutional the understanding reached between the Governments of Portugal and the United States on the construction of a U.S. satellite tracking station in Almodovar in the country's south.

The tribunal concluded that the accord dated March 27, 1984, was a breach of Article 200 of the Constitution because it had not been endorsed by an appropriate decree of the assembly of the Republic, and a breach of Article 137 because it had not been referred to the country's president for endorsement. The two procedures under the Constitution are compulsory for all agreements being concluded between Portugal and other countries.

Washington secured the consent to the construction of the Almodovar tracking station in March 1984 upon promising Lisbon an additional financial aid in exchange.

The facility which the Pentagon regards as an important element in the "Star Wars" programme should become one of the elements of a global system to track space objects. Three similar stations are already in operation in New Mexico, at Hawaii, and in South Korea.

Kamentsev Receives Danish Fisheries Minister

PM1310143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Mutual Interest"]

[Text] On 12 October USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman V.M. Kamentsev received Danish Fisheries Minister L. Gammelgaard.

There was a discussion on the questions of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Denmark, particularly in the fishing sphere. It was noted that the traditionally good-neighborly Soviet-Danish relations are making it possible to raise the level of this cooperation considerably. It was stressed by the Danish side that the restructuring of foreign economic activity that is being carried out in the Soviet Union creates good conditions for strengthening economic contacts between Soviet and Danish organizations.

Danish Ambassador to the USSR R.A. Thorning-Petersen was present at the conversation.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Chairs Meeting on CPSU History

LD1210201188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee: A session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission to prepare the outline of the CPSU's history [Ocherki Istorii KPSS] has been held under the chairmanship of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The commission discussed approaches to formulating a conception of the outline. It was stressed in this context that one of the most important requirements in preparing the book is the absolute observance of historical method and the depiction in all its complexity and contradictions, truthfully and with the utmost scientific conscientiousness, of the process of the party's coming into being and activity at all stages of its history.

Leninism, as a current of social thought and as the ideological and theoretical basis of the Bolshevik Party, grasped and assimilated the enormous intellectual and moral potential that had been accumulated by Russia and Europe by the end of the 19th century. Leninism's revoltionary nature drew on the best humanist traditions of all mankind. This determined the wholehearted loyalty of the Bolshevik Party to the ideas of socialism, democracy, communist morality, and comradeship. It permitted it to become a genuine vanguard, capable of rousing Russia's working class and people to a triumphant socialist revolution and to assume leadership of the construction of the new society.

It was stressed at the session of the commission that during preparation of the outlines of the history of the CPSU, considerable efforts will be needed to study and interpret the real development of events in the post-October period. The need was emphasized to comrehensively analyze the activity both of leading bodies and of the party as a whole in the process of socialist construction; to describe outstanding party members and local organizations; to draw general conclusions from the experience accumulated at different stages in the light of present-day opportunities for scientific research; and to draw lessons for the party's activities, as it tackles the tasks thrown up by the development of the contemporary world and by the demands of the renewal and progress of socialism at the new stage of world history.

An honest and frank analysis must be made of the causes of the deformations and deviations from the Leninist conception of socialism, and an exhaustive understanding must be arrived at as to why, in the course of transforming the country under the banner of the October revolution—a great historical feat of the party and people—the emergence and spread of authoritarian-bureaucratic distortions and their consequences were not averted in good time.

The commission considered the question of the nature and structure of the outline of the history of the CPSU. A considerable body of new material, which will make it possible to throw objective light on complex events by drawing on documents and verified facts, is being brought in to help prepare the edition. The outline can in this sense become a scientific reference point for further deepening and thoroughly studying the history of the party and of Soviet society. A wide range of authors will be involved in the work. It will be organized on a competitive basis; competitions will be held. The commission welcomes any ideas and requests which it may receive concerning the organization of work on the outline, its content and structure, and the coverage of individual questions.

Gorbachev Notes Election Congratulations

PM1310132388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev undated message giving thanks for congratulations on his election as USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman: "Appreciation for Support"]

[Text] In the greetings and communications in connection with my election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, I see Soviet people's support for the restructuring policy, the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, and the intention to give full power to the soviets. I felt that they were expressing a desire for the projected transformations to be conducted even more persistently and consistently.

The congratulations from fraternal socialist countries and communist and workers parties are an inspiration. I was touched by the greetings from representatives of other parties and countries and the international general public.

I am grateful to the state and government heads, politicians and public figures, scientists, cultural figures, and foreign citizens who congratulated me on my election to the top state post. Their communications encourage me to act even more persistently in the spirit of new political thinking.

M. Gorbachev

Shevardnadze Back From Paris; Met by Yakovlev

LD1210190988 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), arrived here from Paris today.

He had been staying in France on an official visit at the invitation of the French Government.

At the airport, Shevardnadze was met by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, and other officials.

The welcoming party included France's Charge d'Affaires in the Soviet Union Francois Beauchataud.

Armenian Elections Annulled, Party 'Divisions'

PM1210104088 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 12 Oct 88 p 1

[Xan Smiley dispatch: "Armenian Ministers Beaten in Elections"]

[Text] Moscow—Mr Gorbachev's announcement of plans to allow independent candidates to compete against Communist Party nominees in elections in the Soviet Union has been followed by an embarrassing row in Armenia.

Two senior Armenian Communist Party leaders have apparently been humiliated by nationalist candidates in elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet, its highest constitutional body, but the vote has been annulled because the unofficial candidates were technically not registered on the ballot sheet.

Other nationalist groups, especially in the Baltic, have promised to contest elections to soviets (councils), but if Mr Gorbachev allows leading Communist candidates to be defeated his party's authority could be seriously undermined.

He has promised to give greater power to the soviets, which may include non-party members, but, at the same time, he argues the soviets should nonetheless also be chaired by local Communist bosses.

In Armenia, nationalists say that the interior and foreign ministers were both thrashed in by-elections last Sunday to the republic's Supreme Soviet by non-party nationalists.

The ensuing row over the elections' legitimacy has opened a split within the republic's ailing Communist Party, which has already found it virtually impossible to contest the authority of the unofficial Karabakh committee, the nationalist group which supported the independents.

In the town of Abovyan, the Armenian Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoliy Mkrtchyan, is said by nationalists to have received only 12 per cent of the vote, against Mr Ashot Manucharyan, one of the Karabakh committee's 11 members, whose name was written on to the ballot slips by the voters.

In Yerevan, a nationalist hero, Mr Hachik Stamboltyan, who has recently ended a three-week hunger strike in the city's Opera Square, pulled off a similar electoral coup against the Interior Minister, Mr Usik Arutyunyan.

But Mr Suren Arutyunyan (no relation), the Communist Party leader, yesterday denounced the results as "election rigging."

Contradictory statements and the expulsion from the party of Mr Khristofer Mandalyan, the head of the election commission, who apparently accepted the independent candidates' election, revealed divisions within the party.

While the Armenian president, Mr Grant Voskanyan, told a crowd in Opera Square that the independent candidates had been disqualified because of their failure to register correctly, the deputy president, Mr Galumyan, later received a formal rebuke at a party plenary session, presumably for arguing in the nationalists' favour.

Nationalists are cautiously hopeful that a recent visit to the disputed Karabakh region by Mr Avgust Voss, the Latvian chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities, might herald a Kremlin re-think over the issue which has inflamed Armenian sentiment.

But the election row highlights the disarray within the Armenian Communist Party and the dangers for Mr Gorbachev if such incidents are repeated countrywide.

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Unrest

Baku Notes Curfew Change

NC1310082288 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is gradually returning to normal. Tension arose in Nagorno-Karabakh a few months ago when the transfer of the autonomous oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR to another republic, the Armenian SSR, was demanded.

Business life is reviving in Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. Meanwhile, a decision has been adopted to reduce curfew hours as of 11 October. Curfew will be in effect only from 0000 to 0500.

'United Political Day' Noted

LD1210211588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] And now over to our special correspondents in Yerevan, Yuriy Korotkov and Koryun Khomaryan. They will tell us about the United Political Day which took place in Armenia today.

[Korotkov] United Political Day was devoted to the material of the September plenum of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee, which elaborated a broad program for overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the economy and the social sphere and for improving the ideological and moral situation in the republic.

There was serious and principled discussion about this in literally every workers' collective. The participants in the Political Day noted that the situation in the republic remains complicated and tense and that it requires dynamic actions by party and economic leaders, public organizations, and all labor collectives.

[Khomaryan] Workers, employees, and people active in science and culture were frank in sharing with the leaders of the republic their concern at the fact that theft of socialist property, corruption, bribery, and protectionism have left a deep imprint on the moral state of society, have led to a certain section of the people losing their moral values and orientation, and have given rise to distrust, skepticism, and apathy.

[Korotkov] But whatever the subject of the discussion, it always, one way or another, returned to today's most painful and acute question—the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Here is what Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, said about this at a meeting with the collective of the Kamokabel production association.

[Begin Arutunyan recording] Indeed, the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is worrying everyone, including the leadership of the republic. Yesterday we had a meeting in Nagorno-Karabakh with Comrade Volskiy, Comrade Vezirov, and Comrade Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom. There was a very detailed discussion. We exchanged mutual information about the situation in Azerbaijan, in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and in Armenia. We agreed on some coordinated joint actions aimed at normalizing and stabilizing the situation in the region.

There was very attentive discussion of our proposal—the proposal made by the leadership of the republic of Armenia—about how Armenia will participate and help the NKAO to resolve the economic and social problems and questions. We have a whole program of actions. Workers' collectives alone have submitted over 1,000 proposals aimed at participating in the implementation of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the social and economic development of the NKAO.

I would like to say that among other things we discussed questions connected with ensuring the security of the population in the region, regardless of what nationality they belong to. Here in Armenia the working people are very concerned that there should be complete guarantees for the security of the Armenian population living in the NKAO and in Azerbaijan. This question is also being discussed in the CPSU Central Committee and in the union government. This problem is being studied seriously and is being given great consideration.

The Voss commission which came here and carried out its work in our republic has also put forward its thoughts and will elaborate some proposals connected with resolving the problem of the NKAO. [end recording]

Further Arutyunyan Comments

LD1210234888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There was a United Political Day in Armenia today. The republic's leaders and party, soviet, and economic employees met with labor collectives. The discussion at the meetings was about overcoming stagnant phenomena in the economy and the social field and improving the ideomoral situation.

[F. Simakov reporting—identified by screen caption] The city of Kamo, the toiler city, the city that during the uneasy September days manifested proletarian self-possession and calm. Here Suren Gurgenovich Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, visited the (?Gegema) Production Association. I would like to note that the cablemakers here have more than R2 million-worth of additional production since the beginning of the year on their account. Under contractual deliveries the masters of the (?Gegema) too have clear consciences before their consumers. And one more fact which I think is by far not unimportant—the housing problem at the enterprise is solved; there is no housing waiting list here. In the shops and in the street there began lively and involved discussions about the problems in and around Nagorno-Karabakh and about the decisions of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which took place 2 days ago—and about which we have already reported to you. [video shows street scenes; Arutyunyan visiting various parts of works; reels of cable.]

[Begin S.G. Arutyunyan recording, identified by screen caption as first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee] The first question asked today is how to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is an exceptionally complex problem, a difficult problem. It worries everyone, including the republic's leadership. Yesterday we had a meeting in Nagorno-Karabakh with Comrade Volskiy, Comrade Vezirov, and Comrade Pogasyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom. A very substantive conversation took place. We exchanged mutual information about the situation in Azerbaijan, in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and in Armenia. We, let's say, agreed on some kind of coordinated joint activities directed at normalizing and stabilizing the situation in the region. Our proposals, proposals from the leadership of the republic of Armenia, on how Armenia is going to take part in and assist the NKAO in solving economic and social problems and issues were considered with great attention. We have a whole program of action. More than 1000 proposals directed at taking part in fulfilling the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the socioeconomic development of the NKAO came from labor collectives alone. [video shows Arutyunyan talking to reporters surrounded by workers] [end recording]

[Simakov] On the same day Comrade Arutyunyan visited the recently established agrofirm Ayrivan. Here he wanted to know about the workers' working and living conditions. At these meetings, as you have already been able to see, the most urgent problems of improving the situation in the republic and creating a businesslike atmosphere and calm were not passed over. And more than once after cordial and friendly chats, applause could be heard at these meetings. You know, to me this appeared to be perhaps a small but good sign of the coming changes. After all, that is what they are striving for and doing much today. [video shows Arutyunyan visiting farm, talking to workers]

Sakharov Criticisms Published in Baltic Paper

AU1310112988 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 13 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow, Oct 13 (AFP)—Soviet society is sick and "poisoned by lies", human rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov has told an Estonian newspaper in the first interview published by the Soviet press in which he discusses his fears for reform.

In a wide-ranging interview with Tuesday's MOLODEZH ESTONIA, reaching here Thursday, Mr. Sakharov told the Baltic republic's youth newspaper that the "greatest danger for youth is falsehood and social hypocrisy.

"When everyone lies—the public, youth leaders, parents... This factor is long-standing here, and so it is possible to say that our society is sick. [sentence as received] It is poisoned by lies."

The physicist, 67, said that he was particularly "frightened" by people in their 30s, who reached adulthood under Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982). This generation "saw, but never denounced the lies," he said. "It is most important that hypocrisy never returns, it would be a catastrophe, a psychological tragedy."

Mr. Sakharov said that he saw very few changes as a result of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reform drive known as perestroyka. He warned of a "counter-attack" by the party apparatus which had "held power for decades, and undermines the changes".

Mr. Sakharov, who reasserted his support for perestroyka, said that compromise measures could stifle the reform drive.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate on September 9 made similar pessimistic comments about perestroyka at a ceremony at the U.S. ambassador's residence at which he was made an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The reformist weekly MOSCOW NEWS reported the presentation but omitted Mr. Sakharov's remarks on domestic reform.

Mr. Sakharov gave the interview to MOLODEZH ESTONIA last month during a meeting of the pro-disarmament Pugwash conference at a Black Sea resort, and before a Politburo shake-up on September 30 which gave a new boost to Mr. Gorbachev's reformist supporters.

Mr. Sakharov implicitly criticised Mr. Gorbachev's policy on Armenia, however, saying that he had been "very disappointed" by the Kremlin's refusal to transfer the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia.

Mr. Sakharov in the interview discussed for the first time the "psychological pressure" during his almost seven-year exile in the Russian city of Gorkiy for his dissident activities. He was released in December 1986 after Mr. Gorbachev personally intervened.

He recognised that the sanctions against him and his wife Yelena Bonner had been "delayed" because of his status as an academician, saying that other people without high official rank "take hard beatings".

"In our country, the situation has often arisen where a man must choose whether to be hero or traitor," he said.

Mr. Sakharov stressed that he had never sought to leave the Soviet Union to live abroad, but called for "free emigration" which was a basic human right along with freedom of conscience.

Estonian Front Seeks Economic 'Miracle'

PM1210162788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Oct 88 p 3

[Special correspondent L. Telen report: "Estonia: The Shape of Economic Accountability"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Popular Front of Estonia convened its inaugural congress in Tallinn at the beginning of October. Its charter and other documents defining the democratic movement's tasks in support of restructuring were adopted at it. The Popular Front [PF] economic program, known as IME, was unanimously approved by delegates.

IME is an acronym formed from the Estonian for 'economically accountable Estonia.'

'Ime' means "miracle" in Estonian. A coincidence. The hopes of people.

...People walked through the small paved streets of old Tallinn with linked arms in a seemingly never-ending chain. Diverse people—Estonians and Russians, those with party cards and those without, oldsters and mere children.... They came out onto the streets on the day the people's congress (which was what the PF called its congress) opened to express their solidarity, their solidarity with the ideas of restructuring, with real sovereignty for the republic, with democratization, with cultural renewal, and with the IME program. Even a very short time ago such an initiative from below would have aroused fears and alarm. But today?

"Don't you think that some proposals made from the congress rostrum are unacceptable to Communists?" a foreign correspondent asked Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party.

"We now discuss different standpoints openly. That is what pluralism of opinion means," he replied, adding that "party workers must learn to separate the essential from the detail. And in the essential thing—the defense of restructuring—the PF and the Communists are united."

Two points of information: Twenty-two percent of all PF members are members of the party. And they include party workers. Quite recently, for example, Toomas Kork, leader of a local PF group, was elected first secretary of the Rakvereskiy party raykom (incidentally, the congress elected him to the PF's leading organ—the Council of Representatives [Sovet Upolnomochennykh]). Vayno Vyalyas sat alongside delegates at that time and himself spoke from the people's congress rostrum. That is the way Estonian Communists work nowadays. The idea of national self-awareness, in their opinion, can and must become a creative rather than a destructive force, and can work for restructuring.

The program for an economically accountable Estonia is just such a program capable of consolidating forces. Its thrust is plain even to the housewife: prosperity earned by dint of honest labor and social justice.

Estonian economists set their sights high, measuring themselves against the social and economic indicators of the rich Scandinavian countries. At present the latter are way ahead. For example, the average life span in Estonia is 8 years shorter than in Sweden, and 5 years shorter than in Finland.

Recent years have particularly slowed down the republic's development. The annual rate of growth in national income has declined from 5.6 percent in the 9th 5-Year Plan to 2 percent in the current plan. Plants and factories (depreciation of fixed assets has reached 50 percent on average) are aging drastically. The state of the environment has sharply deteriorated.... In short, those who cherish Estonia do have cause for concern. And to overcome the stagnation and reach the targets set, they intend to make the strictest demands on themselves.

The concept of republic economic accountability has been submitted for public discussion. Its drafters are scientists in the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. They, and yet another specially created scientific collective, have drafted the IME program. What sort of "miracle" does Estonia believe in, then?

The republic, as conceived by the begetters of IME, must take charge of the management of all enterprises operating on its territory; at present only a negligible number of them are at the republic's disposal, and the rest come under union ministries and departments. This must end. If is necessary for a plant to carry out an order from the "center," let it sign a contract on, of course, mutually advantageous terms. And the same applies to economic deals between Estonia and other republics.

State enterprises will work based on the principles of residual economic accountability, of the collective contract, and of shareholding. The procedure for and the scale of taxation will be determined by the republic, and the taxes themselves will be paid into its budget.

Estonia will, of course, pay union tax—funds for defense, management, and the formation of reserve funds—into the USSR budget. This is the way in which the idea of real economic sovereignty is seen to be implemented. A union of republics is economically strong only when it is made up of economically strong republics. There is no other choice.

The most immediate task is to learn to live according to one's means. Those who work in economically accountable Estonia must know exactly how much they are earning themselves, and in a sensible way ensure that their expenditures are commensurate with that. The intent is to achieve a balance between goods and money as quickly as possible. But how, if the republic is currently incapable of regulating its own internal commodity exchange? How much money has been spent in the republic and how many goods exported? Presently it's a matter of chance. But Estonian economists think that this can be countered. "The organization of...money supply, including the introduction of our own currency and the establishment of a procedure for its exchange and rate vis-a-vis other currencies, including the ruble as the USSR's common currency...comes within the competence of an economically accountable republic." An unexpected prospect? Perhaps. And although this is as yet only a proposal, I will not disguise the fact that it does have its opponents, who flatly reject the very idea of a republic currency. Yes, and their arguments will be heard out. How could it be otherwise? The concept of an economically accountable Estonia is being discussed democratically.

It is proposed, too, that pricing be transferred to the republic. Fixed, maximum, and, for the most part, contract prices are what are to be proposed in the way ahead. You will then have wholesale prices common to the USSR, and later CEMA prices, and world market prices, operating in trade among the republics.

And of course the all-around strengthening of the power of local soviets, which have not, alas, been strong. The drafters of the economic accountability concept aim to strengthen the soviets materially. "Certain kinds of revenue, which could include an income tax levied on the population, a land tax, a tax on natural resources and the work force, are to be allocated to local soviets. A subsidy for financing targeted programs could be allocated to local soviets from the republic budget.

I will not go into detail about those elements of economic accountability which, even if they have not triumphed in practice, have already been acknowledged in official documents. All of them—wholesale trade, direct ties, joint enterprises, the cooperative sector—must, of course, also form part of the system of regional economic accountability.

That is the IME program in a nutshell, a program that enjoys the support of the whole of the Communists of Estonia as well as its public. And the details? They, I repeat, still have to be discussed and analyzed. Some people will perhaps consider some elements of IME contentious, and some of the promises unrealistic. Okay, each of us has the right to his own point of view. But the right to decide must without a doubt belong to those who live and work in the economically accountable republic. Today this right can and must be exercised—the IME program will be examined in the republic's Supreme Soviet after extensive and public discussion, and will then be discussed in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"I believe in IME, although it won't be easy to carry it out," I was told the day after the people's congress closed by Reyn Otsason, chairman of Estonia's Gosplan (director of the Estonian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, he took up the state post recently). "This program is radical and incompatible with compromises. It cannot be implemented in parts, only by a unified act of legislation, with no transitional stages or half-measures."

"Are you ready to name the day when the reform will really be able to start operating?

"First in January 1990." At any rate, Institute of Economics Director Otsason has given that date in an article. And Otsason, as chairman of the Gosplan, has no grounds yet for revising it.

It is, of course, impossible within the compass of brief observations to describe everything that the PF is doing. And the movement itself is, of course, heterogeneous, and not everyone in it has learned to respect the interests of the other peoples for whom the land of Estonia has become a homeland too.... All that is so. But what has to be seen and understood is that Estonian Communists are helping the PF to grow up more quickly, to get over its teething problems and acquire maturity. It is not simply fortuitous that dubious formulations and resolutions were removed from the draft charter by decision of the congress delegates. It is not fortuitous that speakers grew wiser and more discerning as discussion progressed. You could not help but notice that.

The PF now has to get down to practical, everyday work. It is time to move from slogans to deeds—complex and responsible deeds. And those deeds must serve to unite all progressive forces in the republic—Estonians and Russians, those with party cards and those without, graybeards and mere youths.

The chain of linked hands on the day of the PF's birth must not be allowed to break.

Latvian Popular Front Leader Views Program

LD1210110688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Today is the first working day of the new public organization, the Popular Front of Latvia. Its constituent congress has ended. There are 120,000 people in its ranks, people of various nationalities living in Latvia. Approximately one-third of them are Communists. Leaders of the republic's party and government took part in the constituent congress of the Popular Front. The practical activity of the Popular Front will be directed by a council [duma] to which scientists and representatives of workers, the creative intelligentsia, peasants, and clergymen have been elected. The Latvian Popular Front is led by journalist Dainis Ivans:

[Begin Ivans recording] Our aim is already contained in the program of the Popular Front. This program does not differ from the aim of our state; that is, a state based on the rule of law, a republic based on the rule of law, a democratic state apparatus, freedom of conscience of citizens. I would like to add that starting today we must continue this work among the masses. This is our first task: to explain and to propagandize the aims and ideas of the Popular Front program, with the help of all members of our front, of course, because our work cannot be done without them. I especially hope the smallest individual parts of this great mechanism of the Popular Front will do their bit here. [end recording]

I would add that Dainis Ivans is a young man. He was a delegate to the 19th all-union party conference.

Kiev Reports on Ukrainian Plenum, Changes

LD1310094788 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Yesterday the plenum of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee continued its work.

A report on measures to improve the food supplies to the population was delivered by Masol, member of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukraine SSR Council of Ministers. Other speakers on this question were: Palazhchenko, first secretary of the Chernigov Obkom; Lozovskaya, kolkhoz chairman from Lvov Oblast; Pecherov, chairman of the Odessa Oblispolkom; Sabadash, a team leader from Khmelnitskiy Oblast; and [words indistinct]. A decision on this issue was adopted which will appear in the press. Organizational questions were also discussed. In accordance with the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and those of the July and September 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the plenary meeting adopted a decision on creating commissions of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee and reorganizing the apparatus of the republican party organs.

The plenum released Comrade Mozgovroy from his duties as member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension. Comrade Grintsov was elected member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine CP Central Committee.

The plenum transferred from candidate to full membership of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Commitee Comrades Vinnik, first secretary of the Donetsk Obkom, and Tsibukh, first secretary of the Ukraine Komsomol Central Committee.

Ukraine's Masol Discusses Economic Reform

LD0810125988 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] Kiev October 8 TASS—The economy of the Soviet Ukraine today is made up of more than 150 sectors, with the major ones including power engineering, advanced machine building, metallurgy and chemistry, Vitaliy Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine, told journalists. The republic produces almost a fifth of the main farm products in the Soviet Union.

What new has the past three years introduced into the life of the Ukraine? What are the first results of perestroyka and economic reform?

More than a third of all industrial enterprises, associations and organisations have gone to cost-acounting and self-financing. They account for nearly 60 per cent of the entire marketable products. One can say with certainty that positive shifts have already taken shape, the prime minister noted. For example, the volume of production in industry on the whole has risen 5.3 per cent since early this year as against the target figure of four per cent, labour productivity went up by six per cent as against 3.9 per cent. There have been improvements in the quality and technical level of output.

Nevertheless, Vitaliy Masol notes, positively evaluating the first steps under new conditions, one should admit that all reserves and scientific, technical and economic levers have not been put into use. "We are not yet satisfied with the scale or rates of perestroyka."

Therefore, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine recently considered the question of implementation of the radical economic reform. It analysed the state of affairs in the economy and identified the causes hampering scientific and technical progress. It was noted, in particular, that some ministries and departments still practised centralisation of a considerable part of the profits of labour collectives, redistributed them and withdrew funds from the economically stronger enterprises to the weaker ones.

Perestroyka naturally affected the activities of the government of the republic as well. In January 1988 the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party drew attention to the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine to the need for a more active introduction of the economic methods of management. As a result, the analytic and economic work at the Gosplan, ministries and the apparatus of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine was significantly enhanced.

The following fact testifies to the radical nature of the planned measures: Nine ministries and republic departments will be abolished, the administrative apparatus will be reduced by 86,000 people, the Ukrainian prime minister stressed.

Chernobyl Reportedly Being 'Torn Down'

LD1210124888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 12 Oct 88

[By Zoran Zlatanovic]

[Text] Moscow, October 12 (TANJUG)—The Soviet town of Chernobyl is to be made level with the ground. In fact, it is already being torn down "on trial" by means of bulldozers and by way of setting fire to its houses built of wood, by tradition, save in the very centre.

The local complex (Kombinat), in whose competence lies not only the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, but also the whole zone of 30 km in diametre around it, has taken a decision to this effect. The Kombinat is under the Soviet ministry for atomic energy.

In five years, the town of Chernobyl could mark its 800th anniversary, just so much being old according to first written notes and records of this settlement's coming into being. [sentence as received]

The Soviet press is already [words indistinct] the topic of whether Chernobyl should live long enough to mark this anniversary, since there have come up various opinions on this and since the very beginning of its being torn down was shrouded in a veil of silence.

For instance, being fostered is a hope for Chernobyl's possibly being spared from destruction despite its "verdict" which seems to have already been brought in and will remain irrevocable.

Opinions in favour of preserving the town start from that its radiation degree already is not being too high and that last June it was close to natural radiation in the mountains and only twice as high as in the area of the nearby city of Kiev, amounting to 0.1 milliroentgens an hour.

Of course, it is up to experts to have their say about what such a degree of radiation means, but, judging from everything, they start from the nuclear contamination of the soil in the town itself and around it.

Those who are in favour of preserving the town consider that a thorough-going decontamination should be carried out in it (even on condition that the roofs of its houses should be changed), then that Chernobyl's former inhabitants should be allowed to come back (at least for a time) to their homes and flats and help with such a decontamination drive.

Running counter, however, are views of others who have already, judging by everything, made up their minds about having Chernobyl taken off the map.

To be found with the still forbidden zone in which the town of Chernobyl is situated are some villages whose "exiles" are already back and in which life is in its former courses again.

Such people returned at their own risk and with no permits issued by the competent authorities under whose control the whole area affected is. There are about a thousand of them, for the most part getting along in years and not willing to become reconciled to the idea of being exiled for life from the plot of land on which they have lived almost the whole of their lives.

Belorussian Author on Chernobyl Situation

PM1210153488 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 10 Oct 88 p 4

[Interview with Belorussian author Ales Adamovich by Giulietto Chiesa on 8 October; place not given]

[Text] Moscow—The uproar created by PRAVDA's publication of Aleksandr Levada's article on the situation in Chernobyl and its surroundings has not yet had any direct repercussions in Moscow. There is someone who did read it carefully, however. Ales Adamovich is a famous Belorussian author and is himself at the center of this controversy. The monthly NOVYY MIR has just published a very fierce article of his in which—taking issue with the reassuring conclusions of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and of the USSR and Belorussian Ministries of Health—he argues that the radiation situation in the Belorussian districts of the contaminated area is anything but "out of danger" and accuses officials of concealing the real scale of the tragedy from the public. I met with Adamovich Saturday evening at the home of some mutual friends. I asked him his opinion of the PRAVDA article. Adamovich is someone who speaks his mind and does not beat about the bush:

"I consider it obscene," he said.

[Chiesa] Why? After all, as far as the Ukrainian side of the "prohibited zone" is concerned, Levada makes the same points as you did with regard to the contaminated Belorussian areas.

[Adamovich] True, but the author draws contrasting conclusions. Despite the fact that the map of the radioactive areas has not been drawn, he urges the authorities to encourage the early return of the evacuated populations.

[Chiesa] So are you in favor of the decision made by the agency responsible for the contaminated area to raze Chernobyl to the ground?

[Adamovich] I cannot say anything about that. I can well understand those people's plight. It is terribly painful to have to leave your home forever. But those who concluded that there can be no more human life there for the next 30-40 years are well aware of the situation. I took issue with them because they were not telling the truth. Now that they are telling the truth—at least in part—I really do not believe it is appropriate to indict them.

Ukrainian Rebel's Son Not 'Persecuted'

PM1110151988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 41, 8-14 Oct (Signed to Press 6 Oct 88) p 6

[Unattributed article under the rubric "USSR KGB Reports and Comments": "Choice"; first paragraph is ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] V. Nikolayev, an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY reader from Astrakhan, asks: Foreign radio voices periodically mention the name of a certain Shukhevich. Radio Canada, for example, recently talked about an appeal by Andrew Viter [name as published], a Canadian Parliament deputy, to his government and the secretary of state for external affairs to bring influence to bear on the Soviet Union to obtain the release of Yuriy Shukhevich, who has allegedly been persecuted throughout his life by the "Soviet regime" simply because he is the son of Roman Szuchowicz-Czuprynka, commander in chief of the Ukrainian insurrectionist army, who died in 1950 in fighting with NKVD troops. What really did happen?

The name Yuriy Shukhevich has indeed been used repeatedly by our ideological enemies in anti-Soviet insinuations.

Aside from his real name, his father acquired a reputation—a sad reputation—under the names "Taras Czuprynka," "Roman Lozowinski," "Tur," and others. In 1926 in Lwow he killed the school superintendent Sobinski, and the Polish authorities sentenced to death Wasyli Atamanczuk and Iwan Werbicki, who were not implicated in the shooting. In 1931 in the city of Truskawiec he killed Sejm deputy Tadeusz Golubko—and Wasyli Bilas and Dmitri Daniliszyn went to the scaffold.

With captain's epaulets from the fascist Wehrmacht, Roman Szuchowicz returned to occupied Lvov at the head of the "Nachtigall" battalion. This was a subdivision of Nazi military intelligence formed from members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN]. The flower of Lvov's scientific and creative intelligentsia was eliminated at their hands. Under Roman Szuchowicz' direct leadership bandit formations of the so-called "Ukrainian Insurrectionist Army" were set up. It received weapons from the fascists. Going underground, the brigandly pack of nationalists crawled out by night from their lairs and murdered, hanged, burned alive, and tortured peaceful people who had built a genuinely free Ukraine in the family of fraternal Soviet peoples.

As you know, you cannot choose your parents. It is not surprising that in the parental home Yuriy absorbed the concentrated nationalist stew from a tender age. As a teenager he was already connected with his father's underground lairs. At 15 he was caught red-handed on one of the OUN routes.

On leaving the convict colony he once again got involved with OUN members. So, convictions, liberty, and rearrest followed one another. But not because of his father. Because of his own deeds. And every time he again called for armed struggle against the Soviet power, for the creation of underground links for this, and he met with emissaries from foreign nationalist centers from whom he picked up "useful hints".... In 1973 Yuriy Shukhevich was once again convicted for criminal activity as a dangerous recidivist.

Children are not responsible for their parents. If it were otherwise, then the fate of Yuriy's sister, Mariya, probably would have turned out differently. She graduated from Lvov Polytechnical Institute, and she now works as a leading engineer; and Stepan Bandera's nephews, who chose a different, an honest path, are also working. Such are the facts which make it fully possible to authentically establish that one thing in the Canadian parliamentarian's said "appeal" is true: Yuriy Shukhevich really was his father's son.

Released from imprisonment, Yuriy Shukhevich was exiled for some time in Tomsk Oblast, and because his eyesight has deteriorated he now lives in the "Lesnaya Dacha" nursing home run by the RSFSR Ministry of Social Security. In the company of people who have been disabled since childhood and elderly single people, not with out-and-out criminals, as is made out in Canada.

Recently a Soviet journalist who visited him said the following: "Yuriy Shukhevich and I had a long and frank conversation. About everything that happened, his suffering and his thoughts. About the way he came to understand the truth over the years. Recognition that the destruction of the nationalist underground in the Ukraine and his father's death were inevitable, and that the sacrifices were in vain, cruel, and foolhardy.

"'In the West you are called a human rights defender....'

"'I never had nor do I have any relationship with them.'

"'But people in the West claim that your renunciation of past nationalist ideas which was published in a newspaper was wrung from you by the authorities....'

"'That's their business. Those in the West. I personally do not take back a single word of what was published.'"

In the same nursing home Yuriy Shukhevich found a life companion. A few months ago he wrote:

"To the chief of the Tomsk Oblast Department of Social Security from Yuriy Romanovich Shukhevich-Berezinskiy.

"Application

"In April 1983 I, as a visually disabled person, received a 5-year pass for the 'Lesnaya Dacha' nursing home—that is, through the end of my term of exile. It ends 11 January 1988. So I request that you extend my permit in general terms. Moreover, I request that you take into consideration the fact that I am visually disabled, I live in the 'Lesnaya Dacha' nursing home, that my wife has also been disabled since childhood, and that she has already lived in the home for 17 years and now needs my care.

"Yu. Shukhevich-Berezinskiy"

Yu. Shukhevich's request was satisfied within the prescribed period.

Party Committees' Restructuring Role Described

PM1210160388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Political Leadership Methods: Party Committees Called on to Vigorously Master Them"]

[Text] Finding themselves, as it were, at the epicenter of restructuring and setting its tone, party committees are gaining experience in working in the new way. Hopes for some "further instructions" no longer have a place in the working process. The times require party members to achieve radical progress more persistently in all sectors, above all in resolving people's urgent problems. And it is very important to learn to distinguish real changes in the party leadership style and methods from false, showy changes, and valuable experience which emerges from a vigorous search from imitations delivered in loud, verbal packaging. It is absolutely futile today just to pretend to adapt to the new conditions and requirements.

Restructuring develops more successfully in those places where people remember that the person is its main character. The primary concern is genuinely including him in all the restructuring processes and awakening in him the belief that he is the owner of this great country and that he is responsible for the fate of the transformations now begun. The 19th all-union party conference, which put forward as its immediate task the irrevocable rejection of command-edict methods in party organs' work and the strictest observance of democratic principles, expressed itself extremely clearly: The level of party organizations' militancy and party workers' maturity should be defined precisely in the new way, by the methods of ideological-political and organizational activity among the masses. This conclusion also stems from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums.

Life testifies that if people realize the significance of forthcoming work and their role in it, if they are well aware of the purpose for which they must exert their efforts and know how to get to their goal, then they can, figuratively speaking, move mountains. The experience of the Kuznetsk metallurgical combine party committee is particularly instructive. Even comparatively recently the enterprise was among those which chronically lagged behind. Without outside help, many thought, they would not get out of the mess. The breakthrough came when the party committee together with the administration showed serious concern to fully open up the human potential. Emphasis was laid on the initiative of Communists and all the metal workers in the search for internal reserves. Under the party committee's leadership a single program of action was formulated to implement radical economic reform and democratize production management. Shop party organizations, labor collective councils, teachers of young people, propagandists, and creative initiative groups undertaking to resolve specific problems of scientific and technical progress got started on the work. As the focus of their concern the party committee put forward questions of creating normal work and leisure conditions for people and supplying food and accommodation for them. The result? In the 12th 5-Year Plan the combine is working stably and profitably.

Today it is a question of basically restructuring party committees' entire work and introducing forms and methods of political leadership according with the new tasks. A clear differentiation must be made between the functions of party committees and those of state and economic links, parallelism and duplication decisively overcome, a radical change in the structure and improvement in the quality of the party apparatus secured, and the latter's unconditional support by and accountability to elective organs firmly ensured. Moreover, the unprecedented glasnost which has grown up, the democracy in working people's sociopolitical activity, and the urgency of advancing restructuring further and everywhere putting it on the road of practical deeds must certainly be taken into account.

There is no doubt that now, as long as the braking mechanism has still not been dismantled once and for all and conservative aspirations are frequently accompanied by slackness, irresponsibility, or incompetence, it is not easy for the party committee to resist the temptation to start issuing commands as before, at the same time taking on control and administration commitments, as is their wont, and throwing themselves time after time into the abyss of everyday economic affairs. And the peculiarity of the transitional period is such that both the old and new work methods and means simply have to coexist in the process. Another factor is worrying: In some places, it seems, people in general are not exactly burning with the desire to master the complex science of political leadership and are limiting themselves to supporting restructuring only in words or on paper.

Recently both their own practice and the activity of the less prominent committees was analyzed strictly by a whole series of union republic Communist Party central committees, obkoms, and kraykoms in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th all-union party conference directives. This, for example, is what came up during the discussion of the work of Berislavskiy Ukrainian Communist Party Raykom in Kherson Oblast. Many decisions have been made there and then on various directions in restructuring. And there are certain improvements. But a great deal of what was planned remains wishful thinking. Carried away with economic questions, the raykom first secretary frequently omits organizational and ideological problems. The departments have stuck to old leadership methods. The role of the committee bureau and plenums and its members is not great. The shortage of democracy and glasnost seriously hampers the development of primary party organizations' initiative. The local soviet ispolkom and the public bodies act timidly, looking over their shoulder at the raykom, or rather at its apparatus.

Let us say quite frankly that omissions and errors made by the raykom mentioned are, unfortunately, typical to a certain degree. By the way, participants in the report and election meetings and conferences also confirm this. Speaking with satisfaction about the positive attitude which appeared in the party committees' activity, they directly indicate the obvious gaps between slogans, intentions, and everyday, real work and indicate defects in organizing monitoring.

Communists are alarmed by some people who are clearly trying to organize the vital work of restructuring, to neutralize in endless office talks or justify their inability to adapt to the situation of pluralist opinions by saying that people are ungovernable, to measure out democracy or fight for renewal on terms which are advantageous for them, so to speak—let it take place, they say, but not affect me personally. The Communists' assessments in such situations with rare exceptions are the same: No, the leadership of party organizations should not be entrusted to "restructurers" like these!

Political leadership methods presuppose professionalism in party committees, a critical attitude, and constant contact with primary party organizations, labor collectives, and the broad masses. Making sure that Communists and the population are fully informed about the daily practice of party election organs and leading cadres; openness in discussing problems which arise, including problems in internal party life; a careful approach in examining working people's critical comments, opinions, and proposals; and the publication of the most important decisions and discussions on them—all these are today's realities. But this is only the beginning of the huge amount of work to advance restructuring, to make it irreversible, and to vigorously implement practical questions in all areas of CPSU policy. And there is no doubt that party committees at all levels which come out of the report and election campaign not only significantly renewed, but also more competent, will master the art of political leadership more vigorously.

Commentator Reviews Progress Of Restructuring

AU1110125388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 88 p 7

[Article by Vitaliy Korionov, Moscow PRAVDA political commentator: "The Pace of Soviet Restructuring"]

[Text] No, I do not want to write about PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, although the periodical celebrated its anniversary not so long ago, and at the time it was founded I worked as secretary of its editorial office. Today I would like to write about something else, about the problems of our country. I am writing these lines immediately after the 30 September session of the CPSU Central Committee. I do not yet have the commentaries of foreign newspapers on that event. But I have no doubt that the essence of a number of them will be roughly as follows: "Coup d'etat!" "Differences in the Kremlin!"...and so on. But at the same time I am convinced that these "canards" will be shortlived, and that in a few days they will make way for sober, objective assessments.

And now my view of the event. I would like first and foremost to provide a testimony: The session was brief, businesslike, and above all it was unanimous. There were no differences, and even less was there any sort of "fight." Someone might ask: So, where is pluralism of views? Where is democracy? Well, do not get excited, you esteemed impatient ones, everything is as it should be. That is my opinion.

However, the following logical question arises: Why were such fundamental cadre changes necessary (though they were not the only ones involved), why has the structure of the CPSU Central Committee been changed so much? Let us not seek the answer to this in the personal qualities of any given CPSU Central Committee ranking personnel, and even less in alleged differing views among them. The answer has to be sought in an analysis of the stage in which the Soviet restructuring finds itself now. I stress the following, once again, so that I do not have to return to the issue again: The CPSU's course on restructuring is and will be the party's general line, restructuring has become irreversible, there is no turning back. Put another way, the problem is how to direct the entire process most successfully and most effectively in the future.

At what stage, then, is restructuring? The concept has been worked out. The strategy of renewal has received its clear outline, and concrete forms for the most important directions of social development have been determined as well. The Soviet people have adopted restructuring as their own affair. The most difficult stage has begun: transforming the party's intentions and the people's aspirations into reality, into life. This is a huge and complex process, which has an immense impact and extent. At this stage the CPSU and the entire country—the entire society—have encountered problems which only yesterday they had no inkling of. We must, however, resolve them already today, not tomorrow!

Demands to change work methods are persistently knocking on the door. One needs people for this. Bold and very capable people. Without a reliable cadre staff who would receive the ideas of restructuring with an open heart and begin asserting them in practice like a squad of fighters for this cause, restructuring cannot make progress. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference worked out conclusions, which time has determined as being inevitable. The conference showed that in connection with the party's changed function—Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about that—in connection with the growth of its task as the vanguard of society, the need has arisen to perfect the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, of the Central Committee secretaries, and of the entire Central Committee apparatus. This naturally requires changes in the deployment of ranking cadres.

When a fighting army wants to take possession of an elevation point [kota] and has to go to the attack, commanders usually regroup their forces. The CPSU Central Committee—the general staff of Soviet restructuring—has done the same thing.

The role of the party apparatus—of the central as well as local apparatus—increases considerably according to the way the process of restructuring deepens and the way the country's political reform is being asserted. One has to begin from the "head." And this is precisely what the September session of the CPSU Central Committee did when it introduced the new, more flexible structure into the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. This apparatus became considerably overbloated in the period of stagnation. Components cropped up in it which were essentially substituting for state and economic bodies. This deprived the CPSU Central Committee of mobility, and led to bureaucratization. And that, naturally, was reflected in the activity of the lower components of the party bodies. The focal point of activity was concentrated on economic problems, and the main function of the party bodies—political work—was pushed into the background.

A new structure is being created not only in the CPSU Central Committee, but also in local party committees. The ongoing campaign of the annual membership meetings will make it possible—as was recommended to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, and to the regional and oblast party committees—to focus particular attention on the selection of cadres for the party apparatus, and entrust tasks to those comrades who show political, professional, and moral qualities; comrades who are committed advocates of restructuring.

Thus the first step was taken which makes it possible to accelerate the advancement of Soviet society along the path of its revolutionary renewal, along the path of enhancing the role of the CPSU as the collective political leader of the Soviet people. Restructuring in the USSR is accelerating and increasing in strength.

Visa Official 'Puzzled' by Emigration Data

LD1210162088 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—"The Visa Office of the USSR Ministry for the Interior (OVIR) is currently examining five thousand applications to leave for Israel," the OVIR head, Rudolf Kuznetsov, pointed out today.

Commenting on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's remarks at the unveiling of a monument in Washington, D.C., to fascist genocide victims a few days ago, Kuznetsov emphasised:

"One is puzzled by the data used by the president. He asserted, in particular, that hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews were waiting on a chance to go to Israel."

Kuznetsov revealed the following statistics in an interview to TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan: 15,708 people received the permission to leave for Israel over nine months of this year, which is 10 per cent more than during the entire past year, and 13 times as high as the total number of Jews allowed to emigrate in 1986.

75 people, on receiving the permission, changed their mind and decided to stay in the USSR, he said. "Fewer than three per cent of the applicants were refused exit due to their knowledge of classified information.

A similar practice exists in various countries, including the United States."

Kuznetsov recalled that a document specifying issues of immigration and emigration entered into effect in January last year.

"Unification of families is the principal cause of emigration, according to our statistics," he said. "This applies above all to closest relatives, but OVIR may also examine cases involving other persons, for instance, dependents, who live together and have a common household.

The dates for considering applications have been changed. They should not be longer than one month, and up to three days in urgent cases.

Guided by humanitarian considerations, the USSR has moved further in unification of families than stipulated by the Madrid meeting of the state participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe."

Leaders Sign Party Obkom Chief's Obituary

PM1110143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Oct 88 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Dmitriy Yegorovich Nartov]

[Excerpts] Dmitriy Yegorovich Nartov, first secretary of Gorno-Altay party obkom, died suddenly 6 October 1988 aged 48. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, G.P. Razumovskiy, O.D. Baklanov, N.Ye. Kruchina, Ye.Z. Razumov, F.V. Popov, V.V. Gusev, A.S. Zhelyabovskiy, A.A. Kuleshov, V.M. Krymov, Yu.V. Nazarov, G.A. Sivchenko, V.I. Chaptynov, B.K. Alushkin, V.V. Volkov, M.V. Karamayev

Airport Security Investigated, Criticized

PM1210152688 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Oct 88 p 2

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Bullets in a Shopping Bag"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—"In 1987-1988 militia and inspection service workers at Alma-Ata airport FAILED TO DETECT five firearms and ammunition, at Pavlodar airport there was a pistol, a grenade, and a knife, and at Tselinograd and Kokchetav two pistols and two grenades."

These lines from the USSR general prosecutor's submission to the USSR minister of civil aviation were cited by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent G. Sapronov in his article "The Verdict" (on the trial in Irkutsk of Olga and Igor Ovechkin). The whole country knows what happened in the sky above Leningrad, who the Ovechkins are, and what verdict was brought against them by the assize session of the Leningrad Oblast court in Irkutsk. But what is going on in the Kazakhstan skies, if the general prosecutor has to make a special submission to the USSR minister of civil aviation? The article "The Verdict" left a terrifying impression: In Kazakhstan, bandits armed with pistols and grenades calmly fly about the republic and the country. But how did they find out about this, if they "failed to detect" it?

To forestall the questions, let me explain: Nothing of the kind has ever happened in the Kazakhstan skies. Could it happen? I can answer confidently: Yes, it could. But the situation regarding the grenades in the air and the corresponding panic on the ground needs an explanation.

At the Kazakhstan airports mentioned, firearms, bullets, knives, and grenades were indeed taken by passengers through the surveillance points without hindrance; but later, staffers from the prosecutor's office presented to the airport workers the personal baggage of the "training" violators, as they call them in the border forces, by way of eloquent evidence of the "standard of work to ensure flight safety." But for some reason KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's correspondent omitted these very important words about control checks in this instance. Thus the stunning news broke: Pistols, grenades, and knives are "walking about" freely on planes taking off from Kazakhstan's airports.

Is this not rather an extreme method of checking on the inspection services? Are there not other methods, short of infiltrating a man with a grenade in his briefcase into a crowd of passengers? I put these questions to N.Ya. Manayev, Kazakh SSR first deputy prosecutor.

"Of course, there are gentler methods of checking," Nikolay Yakovlevich said, "and we use them. More accurately, they have been used many times, and our 'wards' have developed a strong immunity to them. We expose, record, and warn, the Kazakh Civil Aviation Administration leadership studies, confers, adopts measures.... But the state of affairs in the services that are supposed to ensure flight safety does not improve. We realized that a powerful psychological shock was needed, and decided to set up unusual situations at the republic's worst airports. It is clear to everyone: Grenades ought to be detected at the inspection point!

"So at our request citizen R. B-va took with her to the baggage inspection point a handful of bullets for a Makarov pistol and for a Kalashnikov submachinegun. Citizen T. B-skiy took a pistol and a grenade.... I wish to emphasize particularly that there was no subterfuge, the bullets were lying in a shopping bag, the grenade was placed at the bottom of a suitcase, and the pistol was in a jacket pocket! And all these people quietly passed through the hand search or introscope point. These materials from our people's operations were used by the USSR general prosecutor in his submission to the minister of civil aviation.

"As for the aviation workers' efforts to ensure flight safety, could the shock caused by our action perhaps bring those who are responsible for flight safety to their senses?"

Nakhodka To Become 'Special Economic Zone'

LD0810100888 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 8 Oct 88

[Text] In Tokyo, the head of the Soviet Foreign Economic Links Research Institute, (Igor Paminskiy), has announced that the Soviet Far East port of Nakhodka and the adjacent territory are to be turned into a special economic zone, the first in the Soviet Union. New forms of cooperation with foreign partners, particularly with Japan, will be tried out there. The whole question, he said, is being carefully studied with a view of working out a detailed program to be submitted for the government's approval. In future, several such zones are planned for the region. They will feature customs and licensing concessions and low pay for the use of natural and labor resources.

Aktiv Meeting Discusses Fate of Aral Sea

PM1110112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Kaipbergenov report: "The Time for Rallies Is Over. The Fate of the Aral Sea Is on the Agenda"]

[Text] Nukus—Of late the sinking level of the Aral Sea and the ecological, economic, and social problems associated with this have become a "newspaper" topic. Writers, journalists, and scientists of countrywide renown have come to the defense of the sea which is dying before our eyes. On the initiative of the creative intelligentsia and with the support of party organs, public committees for rescuing the Aral have been set up in Tashkent and subsequently in Alma-Ata. Voluntary contributions from all parts of the country have begun to arrive into an account specifically opened for this purpose.

Over the past quarter of a century the flow of the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya into the Aral Sea has almost dried up, as a result of which the water level of the sea has sunk by 13 meters and its area has decreased by one-third in comparison with 1960. And all these years the problem which grew into an ecological catastrophe remained outside the "reach" of public opinion. Only 3 and ½ years ago was the disgraceful veil of silence surrounding the Aral Sea lifted.

As a result of a comprehensive examination of this problem, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government adopted a resolution "On Measures to Radically Improve the Ecological and Sanitary Conditions in the Area of the Aral Sea, Enhance the Effectiveness of the Utilization of Water and Land Resources in the Basin, and Step Up Their Protection." Participants in a meeting of the republic party and economic aktiv held in Nukus yesterday discussed and concretized tasks in the practical implementation of this important document. A report "Aral—A Problem That Concerns Each and Everyone" was delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that extremely complex land improvement, irrigation, and land-tenure regulation work is required in a volume roughly equal to what has been done in Central Asian republics over the years of Soviet power. Furthermore, this work has to be carried out within a short time, over 10-15 years. In the Central Asian region and southern rayons of Kazakhstan a comprehensive reconstruction will have to be carried out on an area embracing more than 3 million hectares of irrigated land.

In order to implement the set tasks a comprehensive construction organization "Aralvodstroy" is to be established under union jurisdiction in the Karakalpak ASSR.

A most important feature of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, the aktiv participants noted, is its clear social focus. Priority importance is being attached to the improvement of the ecological and sanitary situation. One of the gravest mistakes of the past for which the republic is having to pay dearly was the application of the residual principle in the planning and construction of social, cultural, and consumer facilities during land reclamation. Literally until the very recent past there were no facilities on virgin land sovkhozes at the time of commissioning with the exception of the hut for the management. Excesses in water utilization and introduction of chemicals into the soil have seriously aggravated the situation in the republic and especially in the Karakalpak ASSR.

The party-economic aktiv meeting came to the conclusion that the time for rallies and declarations is over. The time for practical work has come. A specific document exists. It is now a matter of implementing it. The Aral must live on!

Kirghiz Children Still Pick Cotton Despite Bans

PM0710130588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent G. Shipitko article: "Children on the Cotton Plantations Again Despite Bans"]

[Text] Kirghiz SSR—The newspaper is forced to return to this topical subject. In some Central Asian regions children are still being used in the cotton harvest at the height of the academic year.

The IZVESTIYA correspondents' office in Frunze recently received a letter from L. Komarova, a radio editor from the city of Mayli Say in Osh Oblast. Here is what she wrote:

"Since the beginning of the academic year the radio editorial office has been receiving more and more telephone calls. Worried parents of schoolchildren have been asking whether their children will have to go to pick cotton.

"Some light was shed on the situation in a speech by G. Tkachik, first secretary of the party gorkom, to working people at the 'Kirgizelektroizolit' plant. She said that children are still being sent to the cotton fields. She cited an instruction issued by the Osh Oblispolkom.

"This prompted me to prepare a radio program on the subject. Before broadcasting it I decided to find out just how far this instruction from the authorities accords with the law. I telephoned the USSR State Committee for Education. They explained to me that under state committee instruction No 217 it is forbidden to send children to pick cotton and tobacco. With this authoritative backing I set about preparing the program.

"Finding out about this, G. Tkachik called me to her office and, in a tone that brooked no argument, demanded that I explain who had authorized me to telephone Moscow. The conversation ended with her official signature being written on the material: 'Prohibited. Tkachik.'"

So the program about how children are still being used on cotton plantations was not broadcast.

I had a meeting with the first secretary of the party gorkom.

"But what is wrong with schoolchildren helping out with the harvest?" G. Tkachik asked in amazement. "Especially as it is a question of society's interests. They will work for 3 weeks during school time, in good conditions, for 4 hours a day. This decision is based on instructions from the oblispolkom and a direction from the party obkom. I am only doing what I have been told to do. As for the ban on the radio program, L. Komarova had begun to work to undermine the authority of a party organ. Should I have allowed this?"

Nothing can really be added to this interpretation by the first secretary of a party committee of her rights and responsibilities. All this accords ill with the rule of law and glasnost.

Unfortunately, the first secretary is not alone in her opinions on the need for child labor on the cotton plantations. N. Karpov, deputy chief of the Osh Oblast Public Education Department, said:

"We only send children from the seventh and ninth grades. The work will not be detrimental to their schooling. We hope so, in any case—it all depends on the weather."

When the decision was made to send schoolchildren to harvest cotton, they were also guided by an order from the oblispolkom. This has doomed almost 50,000 children to slave labor. Where there is no cotton the children harvest another product instead.

But what do people in the republic think about this? M. Bazarkulov, minister of public education in Kirghizia, said:

"An instruction has been issued on this matter by the republic Council of Ministers which applies to students at all academic institutions—institutes, technical schools, and colleges, not just schoolchildren. When it was approved, the decision to do so was based on a USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted several years ago on the need to assist people in rural areas. Of course, there are recently approved party and government decisions which clearly say that it is prohibited to use children in the harvest when they should be studying. But we carried on doing this, on the condition that their work be counted as production practice. I realize that this also damages the study process, but what can we do?... But if children are taken away from their classes for longer than 3 weeks we will take action...."

A very curious situation has arisen—the need to try to prove something that requires no proof. The spirit and the letter of the law should simply be complied with.

If we are to believe the claims made by leaders at various levels, the republic has created all the conditions for child labor and there are absolutely no problems with this at all, only benefits: vocational education for schoolchildren. However, these cheerful assurances do not tally well with the real situation, which is making parents indignant. There are already warning signs that the working conditions are certainly not what they seem to the people sitting in cozy offices.

As one person I spoke to said: God forbid that the weather should turn bad—the children will be working until early winter.

In general, the situation is repeating itself.

Bordyugov, Kozlov on 'Blank Spots,' NEP, Lenin

WA1830015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by G. Bordyugov, senior scientific associate, and V. Kozlov, head of sector, CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism: "A Time of Difficult Problems; History of the Twenties and Thirties and Contemporary Social Thought"]

[Text] **After the thunder of today's discussions has faded and the gravity of problems which are concerning us today has become part of the distant past, after today's insights become truisms and the scrapped copies of polemics become part of museum files, it will probably turn out that the process of spiritual growth of the eighties could be easily resurrected from articles and publications on Soviet history of the twenties and thirties. What is obvious today will become even more obvious tomorrow. The depth and uncompromising nature of the critical analysis of the past and the roots and origins of crisis phenomena which struck our society in the seventies and the beginning of the eighties have already blended with the history of restructuring and its hopes.**

This article by Senior Scientific Associate G. Bordyugov and V. Kozlov, sector head at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the first part of which is published today, discusses some debatable and sharply contemporary problems of the history of the twenties and thirties.

The material was edited by Academician G.L. Smirnov.

'Blank Spots' and Mass Awareness [subhead]

The problems of our recent past did not become a subject of stormy debates and discussions all of a sudden. For a while there was stirring of social awareness. Then, the seemingly unbreachable dam of the so-called "firm" concepts of the past began to be cracked by little streams of doubts and questions. The term "Stalinism," which we previously avoided, which triggered exceptionally negative emotions, and which we considered "alien," began to be heard. Its usage was adopted and is now actively used by political journalists.

After it became clear that the concept of restructuring presumes the rejection of the administrative-command system which developed in the thirties and forties, turning to the father of that system, with whose name it was associated, the person who was its embodiment and symbol—Stalin—was natural. The memory of the ease with which the criticism of Stalin and his system had been curtailed in the sixties led the most daring and decisive political journalists on the path of immediate return to the ideas and assessments of the 20th party congress. From initial timid attacks on Stalinism, the social consciousness marched toward the ever deeper understanding of the dramatic nature of our historical path and to the formulation of questions which we did not ask and could not ask 20 years ago. However, as in the past, the majority was still waiting for the fundamental speeches and at first hardly believed in the very possibility of leaving the beaten tracks.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution became a turning point. He defined the overall outline of the new concept of our historical development; the previous view on the history of the twenties and thirties, from a position of "malice," as essentially consisting of a constant struggle against members of the opposition, factionalists, and domestic and foreign enemies, was decisively rejected. Many dogmas were rejected and new questions were raised for discussions. For the first time after a long interval, the party was not "concealing" problems of our historical past but daringly and uncompromisingly bringing them into the open for a serious analysis. The report did not consolidate eternal truths which had to be accepted.

The social consciousness undertook the formulation of new serious problems. It was no accident that a search for the "road to the temple" became the refrain of contemporary political journalism. The criterion of humanism is being introduced as a mandatory component of discussions about the past. Sharply raised were questions on the price paid for the first 5-year plans; the socioeconomic and theoretical substantiation of the policies of the thirties and the prerequisites for Stalinism; the collective responsibility of the party's Central Committee; the identification of the social forces on which Stalin relied; and the forces which were interested in "curtailing" the NEP [New Economic Plan].

Secondary school graduates in 1988 "were left without history." History tests had to be canceled. The old was brought down and the time had come to gather the pieces and rebuild. What trends can be noted today in the development of professional and mass historical awareness? We already see the initial symptoms of a decline of interest in the problems of the "blank spots" in their strict interpretation. The readers have by no means found out everything concerning the cult of personality and the mass repressions, but they have learned an exceptionally great deal. Such work will continue. However, there is also an increased feeling of emptiness both among professional historians, who are unable to explain a number of phenomena and tie them together within the framework of some kind of overall concept, as well as among the mass readership. Unless in the immediate future the people are not given new and more profound explanations and some kind of cohesive concept which would bind together the conflicting aspects of the reality of the twenties and thirties, and unless we abandon the naive concept that enough was said about the "positive" and that now one should turn to the "negative," where is the guarantee that there would not come a point at which we will be told: More than enough has been said about the "negative" (as was the case 20 years ago); has the time not come to speak of the "positive?"

In Search of the 'Main Link' [subhead]

In an effort to go beyond the "drama of ideas" currently experienced by the mass awareness, some literary workers and journalists suggest that Stalin be separated from socialism. However, it would be hardly possible for someone to do this without causing damage to historical truth. Our contemporaries justifiably try to separate the heroic struggle waged by the people for socialism and the errors, blunders, and even crimes committed by some political leaders. However, a country without a leader, a people without leadership building socialism is possible only in the realm of theoretical abstractions, but not in real life. In our view, we are actually dealing with a more general problem: the need to separate the transitional period from socialism. This immediately changes both the foreshortening of our perception of the twenties and thrities, and our assessment of the level of maturity reached by our society at that time.

The frequently asked question is what type of socialism did we build in the thirties? On the basis of what criteria should it be assessed? Forms of ownership and level of development of production forces are the leading and fundamental criteria. However, their absolutizing did not give us the full picture. Contemporary journalists, therefore, have gone beyond that point. Various definitions have been used to describe the system which was created in the thirties: "state socialism," "barracks socialism," or "early socialism." There has been talk, quite serious, of almost having had "feudal socialism." Obviously, the formulation of these questions itself reflects a dissatisfaction with the concepts of socialism themselves, concepts which developed in the thirties and forties.

However, the problem has yet another essentially important foreshortening. Lenin's words to the effect that "we are forced to acknowledge the radical change of our entire viewpoint on socialism" (Vol 45, p 376) are widely known and frequently quoted today. This statement was made in connection with summing up the experience of the first years of the NEP, and to this day they contain a certain shade of mystery. We know that the "change of viewpoint" led Lenin to formulate the question of socialism as a system of civilized members of cooperatives. However, asking another question becomes natural: What viewpoint on socialism did Lenin and the party have earlier? In 1917 Lenin wrote: "Socialism is nothing but state-capitalist monopoly, turned to the benefit of the entire people and, therefore, no longer a capitalist monopoly" (Vol 34, p 192). Obviously, it was precisely this view on socialism that led Lenin to develop the concept of a system of civilized members of cooperatives.

Nonetheless, this "old view" continued to be used as a practical guideline by Lenin's fellow workers and heirs. This led to the creation of the ideal of a rigidly centralized economic system, a straight exchange of products between town and country, and so on, which, in its time, was codified in the Second Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Program. The "old view" of socialism actually became the foundation of the criteria used to assess the maturity of our society in the thirties. It also defined Stalin's interpretation of the foundations and essential building of socialism. In this case, the considerations were quite simple: If this was a proletarian state, if public ownership of means of production had been established, and if the exploiting classes had been destroyed and the mixed economy eliminated, this meant that socialism had been essentially built. However, the idea of "civilized members of cooperatives" generally disappeared from this interpretation of socialism. It is only now that we are returning to it.

It is this circumstance that we must bear in mind in discussing the type of socialism that we built in the thirties. This makes it necessary for the social scientists also to consider the chronological framework of the transitional period. Could this framework end with the thrities, as we have become accustomed to believe? Could it be that building socialism in its essential lines should be extended to the end of the fifties, when the cleansing of ourselves from the legacy of the cult of personality was initiated, a turn was made toward social programs in the economy, and an attempt was made at a democratic reform of the administrative-command system? And could it be that the transitional period would end with its elimination, which is the objective of restructuring?

But is it possible to say that the assertion of the "old view" of socialism in the thirties can be explained exclusively with the fact that Lenin's fellow workers and heirs did not understand and accept his final ideas? Naturally, this is partially true. Judging by already known documents, Lenin's heirs presented to the party some of Lenin's final ideas as the ideas of a gravely ill leader. However, obviously it is not a question of this alone but also of the fact that in real life there were grounds to assert the "old view" on socialism and of identifying it with the administrative-command system.

The objective foundation of such identification was found in the characteristics of the transitional period in our country, as a country of second-class capitalism. Russia had not experienced the stage of fully developed capitalism. Socialism needs a certain material and technical base and a civilized worker, molded after decades of work in the capitalist factory. In 1917 the country did not have to the fullest extent such a material and technical foundation and such a worker, with a high level of discipline and responsibility.

A dramatic situation developed after the end of the Civil War, described by Lenin as "we are now alone." **"We shall pull out of it without outside help."** No proletarian revolution broke out in the West and Soviet Russia did not receive help from the proletariat of the developed countries, whether material-technical, cultural, or technological. The country entered the period of the "long birth pain" of the new society alone.

It is justifiably considered that Stalin (and, unfortunately, not only he alone) coarsened and "straightened out" the tasks of building socialism and equated the process of extensive socialization (a system of civilized members of cooperatives) and statification (state monopoly turned to the benefit of the people). In the final account, the administrative-command system became the "compensating agent" of a historically developed insufficiency of formative prerequisites for socialism.

During the 1st 5-Year Plan, with the help of this system, a peculiar form of production relations developed in the countryside. It was created before the necessary material and technical prerequisites for it had appeared. The "tightening up" of the material base to the level of changed production relations, not only in town but in the country as well, was initiated with the help and as a result of the collectivization. This problem could not be solved in its entirety in the thirties, particularly in the countryside. As Bukharin noted in 1934, the kolkhozes could not as yet be considered enterprises of a consistently socialist type, above all from the viewpoint of the material foundations on which they were based.

The question of the type of socialism we built is naturally related to another one: What were the methods used to build it?

To a large extent the problem of socialist reconstruction was solved through the "sturm und drang" methods, through extensive coercion, and had the form of "revolution from above." The paradox of the historical situation was that these occasionally coercive and frequently erroneous methods of building socialism were not only subsequently promoted to a system but, to a certain extent, fitted the old "pre-NEP" concept of socialism. It is obvious today that the cost of the "revolutionary leap" of the end of the twenties and beginning of thirties proved inordinately high. Priority was given to the problem of the alternate development of our society at that time.

The Negation of the NEP Matured Within It [subhead]

In the historical memory of the people, the system of Stalin's personal power became forever linked to the fate of the NEP. They obviously became intertwined. Far less obvious is the real connection between these two phenomena. One could hardly be satisfied with the simple answer that Stalin maliciously abolished the NEP in order to use the existing situation to implement his own concepts of socialism and to consolidate his personal power.

In recent times serious journalists have taken the question of the "cutting down" of the NEP far beyond the limits of the struggle within the apparat, of internal party intrigues. One must clearly realize that the Stalinist regime could parasitize on objective socioeconomic processes without, however, determining them. Yes, we know of Stalin's lust for power and his aspiration, at all cost, to consolidate his power, shying at no political crime. However, he could not stop the stream, block it entirely. The fact that, in defining a policy based on objective needs, one could rely, roughly speaking, on a good or bad trend, is a different matter. Quite frequently in his choice of methods Stalin relied precisely on those worse but nonetheless actually existing trends. However, concentrating the study of all problems on his personality and aspirations toward personal dictatorship, taken out of the context of socioeconomic and political processes, is fraught with a new type of fatalism according to which Stalin's advent to power is considered as the main reason for all subsequent events.

Why do we keep raising the question of the objective socioeconomic foundations of Stalin's policies? Is it because we would like to exonerate Stalin? No. It is because we are seeking a real guarantee against a repetition of such events.

In order to clarify the Stalin phenomenon, the phenomenon of Stalinism and the regime of personal power, we must understand that the administrative-command system which developed in the thirties was born within the framework of the NEP economy. On the one hand, it continued the traditions of the "war communism." On the other, however, it matured within the framework of the NEP society itself. How could an administrative-command system develop as the negation of the NEP, with its democratic potential, orientation toward personal interests, and so on? Could we consider it the total negation of the NEP or does a finer tie exist between them? Why was it that the administrative-command negation of the NEP stemmed from the NEP and developed from the NEP much more easily than the negation of the administrative-command system stems from the present restructuring? What is this relative to?

Despite trust cost accounting and without strong administrative support, state industry could not develop initially. Ever since the introduction of the NEP, the party seriously limited activities of the market in terms of relations between heavy and light industry. The interrelationship between workers and administrations at plants and factories was controlled not by working for end results or cost accounting methods such as, for example, the collective contracting method, but by a traditional system of rates, standards, and valuations. The result was a weak material interest of the worker in end results. The interest of the enterprise collective itself was of a specific nature, for its profit became depersonalized when thrown in the joint account of the trust. Metaphorically speaking, the system which operated within the state industrial system was one of cost accounting for the command. Not feeling the influence of the NEP directly on the production process, the working class did not become the type of social force which would support and struggle for the principles of the NEP. Yes, the NEP did improve the material situation of the workers, but it did not penetrate profoundly into the production process. Consequently, when social problems became aggravated and food difficulties appeared in 1927, and when "ration books" (a rationing food system) were introduced in 1928, nothing tied the worker to the "traditional" NEP anymore.

Furthermore, in the twenties the administrative methods—the embryos of the future administrative-command system—precisely developed for the benefit of the working class a system of certain social guarantees. Was this a paradox? It may seem so but only on the surface. We must take into consideration that cost accounting, reduced to the level of the workplace, would have made the material situation of the working class dependent on the elements of the private market. The administrative interference of the state in the economy relieved the workers from the consequences of economic risk, which is inevitable under the conditions of cost accounting. For that reason, the working class itself demanded that its interests be administratively guaranteed. Some strata, essentially the novices at industrial enterprises, even tried to promote wage equalization, which was partially achieved with the rate reform of 1928.

It may have seemed that a force absolutely tied to the NEP would be the peasantry. But was this the case? Were the 35 percent of the peasants, freed from paying farm taxes, and proletarian, semi-proletarian, lumpen-proletarian, and poor elements in the countryside interested in the preservation of the NEP? The benefits and class guarantees which were enjoyed by the rural poor in the twenties guaranteed them direct state interference in the economy. Were the peasants tied to the NEP not through the element of the private market but through a variety of state-capitalist forms, the lower forms of cooperatives above all? It may have seemed that such was the case. However, the heads of the cooperatives saw their "statification" behind the mass development of such forms in 1925-1927.

As early as the beginning of the twenties it had become clear that, in principle, the NEP could bring about its own rejection. At the Fourth Comintern Congress (1922), Bukharin said that after the victory of the revolution the proletariat faces the problem of the correlation between forms of production which it can rationally organize and those which, at the initial stage of building socialism, it is unable to control. Bukharin classified this among the most important economic problems and concluded that if the proletariat were to take on too much in terms of direct control, production forces may find themselves fettered. In the context of what we already know of the results of the Stalinist "revolution from above" and the undermining of production forces in the countryside which it brought about, Bukharin's statement could be considered prophetic. It was no accident that he returned to these thoughts in 1928, when the question of the future of the NEP was already on the agenda.

It was precisely then that Bukharin once again spoke of the danger of the appearance of the type of administrative-command system which would try to assume market regulatory functions. However, the cost of its maintenance could, in the final account, turn out to be incomparably stiffer than the cost resulting from the anarchic condition of small-scale production. Furthermore, relying on the already familiar experience of war communism, Bukharin predicted that sooner or later the strict necessity to abolish this system would arise, which is what we are trying to do today.

This means that there was total awareness of the possibility that an administrative-command bureaucratic system would develop from the NEP. The main thing here was no longer the extent to which the question was theoretically clear (it is true that not all party leaders had assimilated it to the fullest extent), but the fact that at each stage in the building of socialism, in connection with the formulation of new problems, a right proportion had to be maintained between that which the proletarian state could "digest," or subordinate to its direct regulatory influence, and features which responded poorly or not at all to such an influence. A change in proportions could lead either to the growth of restoration trends, threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the appearance of an administrative-command system, which would destroy the NEP and would demand tremendous sacrifices and costs.

In 1925, in the final account, the focal point of discussion within the party was the question of how to assess the proportion which existed at that time, the correlation between the regulatory influence of the state and the uncontrolled element of the private market. In the course of the sharp struggle, what was actually discussed was the problem of the maturity of the elements of a socialist economy in the midtwenties. Constructive elements could be found in the views held by both sides to the argument. As analyzed by the "new opposition," this was an indication of the sources of future crises of the NEP as a result of overestimating the real possibilities of the proletarian state to influence the element of the private market. Bukharin's position expressed the aspiration to preserve the type of proportions between the regulatory influence of the state and the development of petty-commodity production in the countryside, in which the state would not assume an excessively big responsibility and its regulatory influence would not develop into an ineffective administrative-command system. However, judging by the fact that the predictions of the "new opposition" concerning the future crises were realized, neither side had the right solution.

What the "new opposition" actually suggested was deliberately shifting the proportions between state control and the market to such an extent that this would have inevitably brought about an administrative-command system and the entire range of negative consequences accompanying it. However, at that time were the views held by Bukharin and Stalin impeccable? To a large extent they rejected the accurate warnings of the members of the "new opposition" concerning the growth of crisis phenomena, relied on the semi-automatic functioning of the NEP and, in terms of specific practical actions, proceeded from the fact that, as a whole, the proletarian state had mastered the market mechanisms. In the final account, this assessment of the situation led to the fact that the uncontrolled elements of the NEP began to have a destructive influence on the economy as a whole. The proportions shifted toward the expansion of the uncontrolled market elements which, in turn, was fraught with the danger that the proletarian state, obstructed in its actions, would try to restore its lost positions through an accelerated administrative intervention in the economy.

Therefore, the extreme views held by either side in 1925 were to merge in the distant future. The search for the right policy presumed the use of rational elements found in the suggestions submitted by both sides. At this point, however, what matters to us is to acknowledge something else as well: The possible degeneration of the NEP into an administrative-command system was included in the objective reality of the NEP itself. Bukharin understood this and so did his opponents. Eventually, this possibility became reality.

Innovative action was needed in order to prevent the transformation of the regulatory mechanisms of the proletarian state into an inefficient administrative-command system. However, we believe, in fact the decisions of 1925 had already wound up the spring of the administrative-command system within the society of the NEP. In order to release it, it sufficed...to start the industrialization, relying on the weak base of private peasant farming, and activate the "transfer" mechanism, the mechanism of nonequivalent exchange between state industry and petty-commodity agricultural production. Under certain conditions, this nonequivalent exchange could destabilize the shaky balance of the "classical" NEP economy and broaden the effect of administrative-command methods. In order to halt the uncontrolled development of this process, industrialization had to be moved to new socioeconomic foundations. However, in 1925 the "critical point" was missed. The pendulum of accumulated contradictions began to swing, ending with the assertion of a repressive type administrative-command system.

The forces which could "decapitate" the NEP were ripening within the NEP society itself. The genie was in its bottle. However, in order to come out of it a drastic aggravation of all contradictions and a crisis were necessary. That crisis broke out in 1927-1928. It began with the by then already customary and, therefore, initially unalarming breakdowns in the grain procurement system.

Was There a Crisis? [subhead]

The assessment of the grain procurement crisis of 1927-1928 is the crucial aspect of today's discussions concerning the "failure" of the NEP and its historical fate. If we assume that this crisis was the result exclusively of circumstantial errors related to setting low prices for the grain or an inept grain procurement campaign as a whole, or whether we assume that Stalin simply misled the party, both lead to an entirely arbitrary action aimed at ensuring the failure of the NEP.

Let us ask direct questions. Was there grain in the countryside in 1927? Yes, there was, although the 1927 harvest turned out lower than that of the previous year. Can we reduce the essence of the problem to whether or not there was grain in the countryside? No, we cannot! Ever since supplying the cities with grain and ensuring export operations were based on the market, the problem of grain procurements became tied no longer to the size of the harvest but, above all, to the extent to which the peasant could be interested in quickly selling his grain (until 1924 a considerable share of the grain was delivered to the state as taxation, bypassing the market mechanisms). Accomplishing this was becoming increasingly difficult, above all because of the commodity hunger (in 1927, as early as August, in connection with rumors of war, a considerable part of commodity stocks were withdrawn). Under that situation, it was more profitable for the main sellers of commodity grain to wait for higher grain prices and there was no incentive to sell it immediately. The state lacked a sufficient volume of goods which could truly stabilize grain procurements.

Therefore, the "purchasing" problem through state grain procurement channels was no longer directly related to the amount of grain. The harvest influenced, above all, the level of prices. Were state prices high? They were not. At the start of the grain procurement campaign, in 1927-28, they were low, which worsened the situation. In our view, however, one should not overestimate the significance of this fact. The amount of money which the state could actually allocate for grain purchases was limited. Naturally, one could repeat the 1926 operation, in the course of which grain suppliers obtained such a large amount of money that, in the opinion of Sokolnikov, the people's commissar of finance, it turned the chervonets into a "staggering" currency. Naturally, grain suppliers could have been paid more money. But would there have been any gold and commodity support for such currency? Briefly, an automatic increase in grain prices would have inevitably brought about increased inflationary processes and a greater commodity hunger.

Here is another aspect of the current discussion: It has been claimed that grain procurement crises had existed even before 1927-1928. This had occurred, for example, in purchasing the 1926 harvest. Yes, it is true that then as well the state had encountered major difficulties. Yes, at that time those difficulties were surmounted. Could precisely the same apply to the current situation? It was very difficult. But why not? Above all because—as viewed by a number of noted party leaders, G. Kaminskiy in particular—the solution of the grain procurement crisis of 1926 had been ensured by "wrecking" the NEP in the trade area, and the use of the methods of war communism. The NEP had already once been "cut down" for a short while. So far no one has written about this event and no one mentions it. Yet, this is necessary.

We believe that any indication of the inflated, artificially promoted crisis of 1927-1928 in the area of grain procurements needs at least a very serious critical investigation. In January 1928 the entire party leadership, including Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy (this should not be ignored) had unanimously voted in favor of emergency measures. Therefore, the situation was rated as extremely serious and actually hopeless.

Later, in April 1929, in analyzing the reasons for the grain procurement crisis, Bukharin concluded that between 1925 and 1927 the grain problem had been ignored and that a firm foundation for industrialization had not been laid. As a result, the country found itself in the "first round of emergency measures." Subsequently, the party and society began increasingly to tighten up the "emergency" machinery.

What Would Lenin Have Done? [subhead]

We follow this with a question which is usually raised today by political journalists. What type of policy would Lenin have pursued had he lived longer?

We have now restored in most obvious matters Lenin's concepts of socialism as a system of civilized members of cooperatives. The problem of the nature of cooperatives and of the point at which they could be considered socialist, and was it possible, under the conditions of the transitional period, to consider all of their forms socialist, are all as yet unanswered. Contemporary publications include a certain identification of the primary, the lower forms of cooperatives of the twenties with socialism, and a tendency to consider them as strictly socialist and, consequently, as a virtual alternative to kolkhozes. If we turn to Lenin we would see that he had a more complex understanding of the problem of the cooperative, particularly in its lower forms. The cooperative, he wrote, has everything needed for building a full socialist society. He immediately stipulated that this in itself was not the building of a socialist society but only what was necessary and adequate for building it. (Vol 45, p 370)

In emphasizing the fact that with the existing system cooperative enterprises are not different from socialist enterprises, Lenin introduced an entirely clear criterion of their socialist nature: basing the cooperative enterprises on land belonging to the state and using means of production owned by the state, i.e., by the working class. Thus, to Lenin a purely socialist form was that of a cooperative with socialized means of production. The lower forms of cooperatives are actually on different levels of progress toward the socialist ideal.

Lenin saw that a cooperative could also operate as a closed association of petty owners who should be supported by the state. Furthermore, he raised the question not simply of the growth of cooperatives, identical to the growth of socialism, but of civilized members of cooperatives. Such civilization presumed that the cooperative would reach rather high levels. Naturally, on the basis of such positions, the positions of civilization and culture, not all cooperatives of the twenties could be considered as purely socialist.

What is the significance of such somewhat abstract considerations in understanding the alternative? There are reasons to assume that Lenin formulated the idea of several phases of development as the NEP progressed. The second necessary phase, which proceeded the strictly socialist one, was that of the cooperative.

At that stage not all cooperatives can as yet be considered socialist. This is not as yet the building of a socialist society but an absolutely necessary prerequisite for it. In practice, in the twenties, this following stage of the cooperative NEP was "missed." The country found itself in a difficult situation: A cooperative, even in its low state-capitalist forms, did not simply allow somehow to "tighten up" the private interests of the peasants but also to acquire substantial funds for industrialization, without disturbing normal economic life. By taking after 1925 the path of "pumping" funds for industrialization out of the private peasant farms, the party leadership had already laid the foundations of future difficulties.

It is perhaps precisely at that time that the strategic opportunity for preserving the NEP "seriously and at length," but already in its changed, transformed aspect, was lost.

The trend toward "statification" of the cooperative and the undermining of its cost-accounting principles increased in the midtwenties. The cooperative became one of the channels of such "pumping." In September 1927 the thought was even voiced that the cooperative movement was something new, in which it was difficult to apply the word "cooperative," and that "as yet, in practical terms, we have not entirely found" the necessary degree to which private commercial interest could be combined with the public interest. Meanwhile, no efforts were focused on an agricultural production sector such as soviet and collective farms, as a result of the then widespread views that it was not the kolkhozes that were the "high road to socialism." For that reason their number was small and barely growing. A certain share of the funds which could have been painlessly channeled into strengthening the material and technical base of the kolkhozes remained frozen in the lengthy construction of industrial projects.

It is at this point that we can confidently claim that Lenin would not have allowed such a serious error. The decision of industrialization, based on such "pumping," triggered a paradoxical situation: The "locomotive engine" of industrial development of the country was put on the "tracks." However, it was only 2 years later, at the 15th party congress, that the problem of the "wheels" which would enable this "locomotive engine" to rush forward was settled. The program of a smooth transformation of the NEP in order to meet the tasks of socialist reconstruction stipulated a scale, realistic for that time, of involving the peasants in industrial cooperatives. It was oriented toward a gradual, balanced, and weighed means of determining the pace of industrialization and strengthening the linkage between town and country and, above all, ensuring the long-term preservation of individual peasant farms as the foundation for the development of the agrarian sector of the economy. As an ideal, such a program was realistic and acceptable for the country. However, the international situation became aggravated. The grain procurement crisis of 1927-1928 broke out. There was no spare time for maneuvering. The prospects of promoting industrialization through methods which would be the least painful to the peasantry were reduced to the utmost.

Sooner or later, as the rather limited reserves became exhausted, the "pumping" (incidentally, Lenin never raised the question of any "pumping") was bound to lead to a crisis. As a result, the country found itself crossing the "gate of exceptional measures," when it became necessary to accelerate the creation of production forms of cooperatives—kolkhozes—which were left without direction, both economically and sociopsychologically. At the same time, the lower forms of cooperatives were kept down. That was precisely why this type of socioeconomic structure was instilled from above rather than developing naturally out of the rural reality of the twenties.

Skipping this historically inevitable phase adversely affected the country's development. Yet the purpose of this phase was not simply to ensure accelerated industrialization but also the development of social relations. Meanwhile, in the twenties and thirties, industrialization was largely equated with socialism. The building of socialism cannot be reduced to a single priority task; otherwise, the building would remain unfinished. That is precisely what happened. The most important stage in training a civilized worker and the inevitably slow development of cultural prerequisites for socialism, in its broad Leninist understanding, was skipped. Having skipped this stage, efforts were made to compensate the weakness of the structural prerequisites for socialism with the help of excessive administrative-command methods. Influenced by Stalin's personal views, the already huge role of coercion grew into the absolutizing of "exceptional measures" and straight coercion.

Today we are forced to go back, although on an essentially different material foundation, to solving a number of problems of that skipped stage. They involve the tasks of economic management and administrative methods, the development of cooperative forms and democratization, and the enhancement of the levels of culture and civilization. Had the Leninist ideas of the cooperative, in their full volume, been fully implemented in their time, we would have perhaps achieved earlier the results we are seeking today.

What was Stalin's personal responsibility for the errors made in the midtwenties in assessing the situation? It would appear, above all, that Stalin had entirely subordinated the process of formulating political decisions to the struggle for power. It was precisely the struggle for power that dictated his choice of supporters and political opposition, on economic matters in particular. Having subordinated everything to the struggle for power, he failed to fulfill the main function which, under the conditions governing our political system, must be assumed by a general secretary: to help in the formulation of a right decision, taking into consideration all shades of opinion.

Economic

Committee Chairman Explains Price Reform

LD1110192488 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow Ocobter 11 TASS—The price reform that has begun in the Soviet Union does not imply the mechanical rise or fall in prices of individual commodities or groups of goods. The point at issue is devising a qualitatively new model of price formation, the chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices has said.

Valentin Pavlov, addressing heads and representatives of diplomatic missions in Moscow today, explained principles of the price reform.

The assessment of all production resources in the USSR, including labour resources, had been greatly belittled, he said. This was due to the decades-long extensive development of the Soviet economy.

"It is therefore required to change all component parts of the mechanism of price formation—financial, banking and crediting and other systems.

Restructuring should be started in industry as it determines the efficiency of the entire national economy.

The payment pattern in industrial branches will be changed as the prices of raw materials will be reviewed. Concern for the interests of the rank-and-file consumer is an important demand put forward by the state.

If the price is increased for some commodity, it will be reduced for another. New prices will more clearly reflect the consumer properties of the comodity.

If, for instance, the percentage of combustible in coal produced is not high, the price of one ton of this energy carrier is to be determined on the basis of its calorific value."

After his 1.5-hour remarks to diplomats from more than 70 countries, the chairman of the State Committee on Prices replied to questions.

Uzbek Aktiv Debates Problem of Aral Sea

PM1110123588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Action Plan"]

[Text] Nukus, 8 Oct—A meeting of the Uzbek party economic aktiv held in the Karakalpak capital today has discussed the republic's tasks in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On measures to fundamentally improve the environmental and health situation in the Aral Sea region and increase the efficiency of the use and step up the protection of water and land resources in the Aral Sea basin."

The report delivered by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and other speeches stressed that the environmental problem connected with the catastrophic drop in the level of the Aral Sea, the increasing water shortage in the region, and the deterioration of the epidemiological situation in the Aral area are largely the consequence of negligent and careless management and cost-based methods of production.

Investment policy must be radically changed. Resources are being channeled into improving the irrigation network, land management measures, and changes in the crop structure. The scale of this work, planned to take 10-15 years, is equivalent to what has been done throughout the years of Soviet power.

The package of measures on the Aral Sea and its region are aimed at preserving the "jewel of Central Asia," sharply increasing the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex, and improving the population's living conditions.

Taking part in the meeting were Yu.A. Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, and N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources.

January-August Industrial Statistics Published

WA1820002O Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, Sep 88 pp 15-16

[Text] Industrial output was 4.3 percent greater over the first 8 months of the year and 6.3 percent greater in August than for the same periods of last year. The average daily output was 1.4 percent higher for the month (this August had 2 more working days than August 1987). There was no improvement in contract discipline, and the production of a number of very important industrial products was lagging behind target.

Contractual obligations for product deliveries were performed at a level of 99.1 percent over the period January-August (over the January-July period it was 99.2 percent).

Enterprises of USSR Mingazprom fully discharged contractual obligations, and these obligations were performed at a level of 99.9 percent by the industrial sector of Belorussia and Lithuania and by enterprises of USSR Minnefteprom.

For the industrial sector as a whole R4.3 billion worth of products were not delivered. The greatest lag in performance of contractual obligations was allowed by the machine-building complex (deliveries are short R887 million since the beginning of the year), the chemical and forest products complex (848), the metallurgical complex (429), USSR Gosagroprom (230), and USSR Minlegprom (R365 million). Twenty percent of enterprises failed to fulfill contractual obligations defined in the state order and direct ties with consumers. There were breaches of contract discipline by two-thirds of the enterprises of USSR Minstroydormash and half of the enterprises of USSR Minelektrotekhprom, USSR Minkhimprom, and USSR Minavtoprom. The level of fulfillment of contractual obligations was lower than the average for the industrial sector in the ministries of the machine-building complex (except for USSR Minavtoprom and USSR Minstroydormash), USSR Minkhimprom, USSR Minudobreniy, USSR Minlesprom, and in the entire industrial sectors of Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

Performance indicators for the national economic complexes, ministries, and departments were as follows over the period January-August 1988 (in percentages):

	Fulfillment of Contractual Obligations for Product Deliveries	Share of Enterprises Not Fulfilling Contractual Obligations	Fulfillment of the Profit Plan (January-July)	Actual Growth Rates of the Volume of Output of Products (Work Items, Services)
Fuel and energy complex	99.7	33	107.8	2.8
USSR Minenergo	97.8*	49*	103.2	0.8
USSR Minnefteprom	99.9	18	109.9	0.8
USSR Mingazprom	100	—	104.4	7.9
USSR Minugleprom	99.7	31	117.1	3.4
Metallurgical complex	99.2	34	108.5	3.1
USSR Minchermet	98.9	40	110.6	3.7
USSR Mintsvetmet	99.6	26	105.5	2.5
Machine-building complex	98.6	46	105.0	6.5
USSR Mintyazhmash	97.7	59	102.7	9.4
USSR Minelektrotekhprom	97.6	55	102.7	8.0
USSR Minkhimmash	98.8	47	107.3	9.1
USSR Minstankoprom	99.0	33	101.8	5.4
USSR Minpribor	98.8	37	105.5	11.9
USSR Minavtoprom	99.4	48	111.6	3.7
USSR Minselkhozmash	98.6	47	98.7	3.8
USSR Minstroydormash	99.1	67	111.1	9.3
Chemical and forest products complex	98.7	43	19.8	4.0
USSR Minneftekhimprom	99.3	42	106.7	2.2
USSR Minkhimprom	98.2	49	112.3	6.4
USSR Minudobreniy	98.4	35	113.6	2.4
USSR Minmedbioprom	99.5	23	104.0	7.0

	Fulfillment of Contractual Obligations for Product Deliveries	Share of Enterprises Not Fulfilling Contractual Obligations	Fulfillment of the Profit Plan (January-July)	Actual Growth Rates of the Volume of Output of Products (Work Items, Services)
USSR Minlesprom	98.4	45	111.0	4.7
Agro-Industrial complex	99.6	12	106.1	2.6
USSR Gosagroprom	99.7	14	106.6	3.0
USSR Minrybkhoz	98.8	13	102.8	2.1
USSR Minkhleboprodukt	99.7	7	108.1	1.3
Social welfare complex (USSR Minlegprom)	99.4	20	109.7	5.3
Construction complex (USSR Minstroymaterialov)	99.1	24	104.5	3.4

*Not including enterprises of the electric power industry.

The table below presents the figures on performance of industry over the period January-August 1988 by union republics (including industry under union jurisdiction) (in percentages):

	Fulfillment of Contractual Obligations for Product Deliveries	Share of Enterprises Not Fulfilling Contractual Obligations	Actual Growth Rates of the Volume of Output of Products (Work Items, Services)
RSFSR	99.1	22	3.9
Ukrainian SSR	99.0	18	4.6
Belorussian SSR	99.9	5	6.7
Uzbek SSR	98.6	21	2.2
Kazakh SSR	99.3	13	4.0
Georgian SSR	99.1	15	3.4
Azerbaijan SSR	98.9	13	4.5
Lithuanian SSR	99.9	4	4.7
Moldavian SSR	99.2	19	5.6
Latvian SSR	99.6	17	4.6
Kirghiz SSR	99.3	19	7.7
Tajik SSR	99.3	24	5.5
Armenian SSR	98.2	27	4.4
Turkmen SSR	99.1	11	6.0
Estonian SSR	99.7	11	2.0

Product Quality. In industrial enterprises and associations where state product acceptance has been established, rejects on the first submittal amounted to R1.2 billion in August; and since the beginning of the year final rejects have amounted to R54 million.

Now we will describe the performance of the branches of the national economic complexes over the period January-August 1988.

Fuel and Energy Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Electric power, billions of kwh	1,117	100.8	103
Petroleum (including gas condensate), millions of tons	417	101	100.5
Gas, billions of m^3	504	102	106

Fuel and Energy Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Coal, millions of tons	518	103	102

Targets for the first 8 months were fulfilled for extraction and production of the principal fuel and energy resources. Targets were exceeded by 4.6 million tons of petroleum, including gas condensate, extracted, 11.4 billion m^3 of gas, and 15.8 million tons of coal, including 5.9 million tons of coking coal.

At the same time, a number of enterprises in the complex failed to meet the target for the first 8 months. They included the following production associations: "Azneft," "Varyeganneftegaz," "Kirgizneft," "Tadzhikneft," "Purneftegaz," "Stavropolneftegaz," "Arktikmorneftegazrazvedka," and "Sakhalinmorneftegaz" of USSR Minnefteprom; "Astrakhangazprom" and "Norilskgazprom" of USSR Mingazprom; "Gruzugol," "Sovetskugol," "Shakhterskantratsit," "Stakhanovugol," and "Antratsit" of USSR Minugleprom.

Metallurgical Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Steel, millions of tons	109	100.5	101
Rolled products of ferrous metals (finished), millions of tons	77.0	101	102
Steel pipe, millions of tons	13.8	100.3	103
Iron ore, millions of tons	167	101	100

Enterprises in the metallurgical complex fulfilled targets for the first 8 months of this year for the output of principal metal products on the consolidated products list. But as before, the needs of the economy were not fully met for such products as cold-rolled sheet (fulfillment of the state order was 99.1 percent), steel wire (99.3 percent), and steel tire belting (99 percent).

Enterprises in nonferrous metallurgy did not fulfill the state order for zinc production over the period January-August.

The lag permitted by enterprises of the metallurgical complex in production of certain products made it impossible for them to fulfill contractual obligations to consumers. For the complex as a whole, fulfillment of contractual obligations was 99.2 percent, one out of every three enterprises failing to make all its deliveries.

Machine-Building Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Large power machines, thousands of units	15.5	93	96
Special, specialized, and integrated metal-cutting machine tools, thousands of units	32.2	98	96
Metal-cutting machines tools with NPC, thousands of units	14.7	100.7	104
Forging and pressing machines with NPC, thousands of units	1.4	117	129
Instruments and automation equipment and spare parts for them, billions of rubles	3.5	101	109
Medical equipment and spare parts for it, millions of rubles	639	105	108
Computers and spare parts for them, billions of rubles	4.1	103	114
Rolling equipment, millions of rubles	153	95	122
Petroleum equipment, millions of rubles	178	97	108

Machine-Building Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Chemical equipment and spare parts for it, millions of rubles	683	98	109
Tractors, millions of HP	34.5	96	100.8
Agricultural machines, billions of rubles	2.7	99	99
Machines and equipment for livestock raising and animal feed production, billions of rubles	1.9	98	100.8
Excavators, thousands of units	27.5	95	103

According to the results for the first 8 months of the year, enterprises in the machine-building complex fell short in meeting targets for many types of electrical equipment, metal-manufacturing equipment, tractors, machines and equipment for livestock raising and animal feed production, and other items on the basic product list.

Enterprises of USSR Minelektrotekhprom were short as follows since the beginning of the year: 1,100 large power machines, 621,000 AC electric motors, 555,000 small-capacity electric motors for automation and mechanization, and 244,000 vehicle batteries and other storage batteries. The largest lag in the production of AC electric motors was allowed by the production associations "Kirgizelektromash" and "Armelektrodvigatel"; and the largest lag in the production of vehicle batteries and other storage batteries by the Komsomolsk-na-Amure Electrical Equipment Plant.

Monthly assignments for machining centers and flexible production modules were fulfilled at a low level at enterprises of USSR Minstankoprom. Only 45 percent and 43 percent of the respective targets for the output of this equipment were accounted for in the first 8 months of the year.

At enterprises of USSR Minpribor targets for computer and control complexes have regularly gone unfulfilled. Over the first 8 months of the year the shortfall increased to 1,137 pieces (on a one-machine-per-unit basis), for most of which the Kiev "Elektronmash" Production Association was responsible.

The shortfall in tractor production at enterprises of USSR Minselkhozmash has reached 13,400. Targets are not being fulfilled for the production of equipment for the next harvest of late crops in the country's field—corn pickers (86 percent) and potato-harvesting combines (87 percent).

Chemical and Forest Products Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Fertilizers (converted to 100-percent nutrients), millions of tons	24.9	101	103
Chemicals for plant pest and disease control (converted to 100 percent of the active ingredients), thousands of tons	220	100.8	97
Sulfuric acid, millions of tons	19.4	98	102
Caustic soda, millions of tons	2.2	97	102
Chemical fibers and filaments, thousands of tons	1,043	102	103
Truck tires, millions	18.3	99.5	102
Automobile tires, millions	15.8	102	107
Tires for agricultural machines, millions	7.7	100.7	96
Pharmaceuticals, billions of rubles	2.3	100.9	105
Commercial timber (not including small timber operators), millions of m^3	197	99.8	100.4
Paper, millions of tons	4.2	100.6	102
Newsprint alone, billions of m^2	24.4	101	102

Over the period January-August of this year the industry of the chemical and forest products complex fulfilled the targets assigned and increased output of the most important products of oil refining, fertilizer, chemical fibers and filaments, tires, pharmaceuticals, microbiological feed protein, wood fiber sheets, paper, and cardboard.

At the same time, the complex failed to fulfill the state order for a majority of the most important items.

Enterprises of light industry did not receive a full supply of capron and viscose textile filaments and Nitron braid fibers. While there was a drop in the production of sulfur dyes, which yield dull shades and are not very fast, the necessary volume of output was not achieved for progressive dyes—vat dyes and direct dyes and the components which develop the dyes on the fiber.

USSR Minudobreniy is short 600,000 tons of synthetic ammonia since the beginning of the year; nearly half of the ministry's 27 enterprises failed to meet targets for the first 8 months of the year.

Certain enterprises are continuing to perform unsatisfactorily in the production of sulfuric acid; output as a whole has fallen 400,000 tons of acid behind the targets (2 percent of the assignment). One of the principal reasons for the lag is the shortage of the raw materials containing the sulfur.

In USSR Minkhimprom the situation in production of soda ash and caustic soda is not improving. Four of the five enterprises in the ministry manufacturing soda ash are not meeting their targets.

Because of the lag, which mainly occurred in enterprises of USSR Minkhimprom, the state order is not being fulfilled for the output of highly efficient types of synthetic resins and plastics: in particular, polystyrene (91 percent), polyvinyl chloride (92 percent), polyethylene (95 percent), and polypropylene (99.1 percent).

Performance of a number of enterprises of USSR Minkhimprom deteriorated in August of this year in the output of pipes and pipeline fittings made of thermosetting plastics (80 percent); as a consequence, the shortfall for the ministry as a whole is 5,000 tons from the beginning of the year, which has caused consumers to use an additional 25,000 tons of steel pipe.

Enterprises of USSR Minneftekhimprom failed to fulfill the targets assigned in the January-August period for the output of synthetic fatty acids (84 percent, with a shortfall of 40,500 tons), which are among the most important raw materials for production of detergents and synthetic soap.

Targets were not fulfilled for the output of rubber footwear; enterprises of USSR Minneftekhimprom have alone fallen short 5.2 million pairs since the beginning of the year. The causes affecting the lag include short delivery of polyvinyl chloride composition by enterprises of USSR Minkhimprom and industrial knitted fabric by USSR Minlegprom.

Enterprises of USSR Minlesprom are still operating unstably. The associations "Krasnoyarsklesprom," "Irkutsklesprom," and "Dallesprom" were operating in August with a large lag in the production of timber, which increased the debt for the ministry over the period January-August to 1.9 million m^3.

Targets for the output of wood chipboard have regularly gone unfulfilled. The shortfall over the first 8 months of the year was 68,000 standard m^3, of which 28,000 m^3 failed to be delivered in August alone. August performance was extremely unsatisfactory in the associations "Krasnoyarsklesprom" (40 percent), "Sverdlesprom" (72 percent), "Komilesprom" (77 percent), and "Irkutsklesprom" (83 percent).

The volume of output planned for sawn lumber, commercial cellulose, paper, and cardboard were not met in August. There was a sizable lag in paper production at the Kamsk Pulp and Paper Combine (shortfall 5,700 tons, or 23 percent of the assignment for the month), the Syktyvkar Timbering and Industrial Complex (4,000 tons, or 9 percent); and this was also true of cardboard production at the Amursk (2,000 tons, or 16 percent) and Krasnoyarsk (1,700 tons, or 14 percent) Pulp and Paper Combines and the Stupino Cardboard Factory (2,800 tons, or 20 percent).

The operation of enterprises in the pulp and paper industry is complicated by the short supply of wood raw materials and chemicals and the low technical level of equipment.

An increase in the output of industrial wood chips from scrap wood has made it possible to reduce the shortage of wood raw materials in pulp and paper production. But the production plan for wood chips is regularly going unfulfilled; over the period January-August the shortfall exceeded 1 million m^3, or 9 percent.

Industry of the Construction Complex

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Cement, millions of tons	93.1	102	102
Asbestos-cement sheet (corrugated asbestos board), billions of standard pieces	5.9	100.5	100.8
Asbestos-cement pipe and couplings, thousands of kilometers of standard pipe	55	100.7	102
Soft roofing materials and Izol, millions of m^2	1,345	100.8	102
Construction glass, millions of m^2	183	99	100.3

Enterprises in the construction industry have failed to meet the targets for the first 8 months in the production of very important products with a high degree of readiness for construction—prefabricated reinforced concrete, lightweight metal fabrications, panels, and other fabrications for large-panel housing construction.

At the same time, a sizable lag has been permitted by ministries whose products go to regions in extreme need of accelerated housing construction. For instance, enterprises of USSR Minuralsibstroy fell short of targets for the first 8 months of the year by more than 250,000 m^3 of prefabricated reinforced concrete and about 300,000 m^2 of fabrications for large-panel housing construction, while the shortfall for USSR Minvostokstroy was 60,000 m^3 and 30,000 m^2, respectively.

Production of the most important foodstuffs is reflected in the figures below:

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Meat (from raw materials belonging to state resources), millions of tons	7.4	106	104
Sausage products, millions of tons	2.5	103	104
Butter, millions of tons	1.3	16	105
Dairy products made from whole milk, converted to milk (from raw materials belonging to state resources), millions of tons	22.2	104	103
High-fat cheeses, thousands of tons	626	103	104
Edible fish products, including canned fish products, millions of tons	3.9	108	104
Margarine products, thousands of tons	996	101	103
Vegetable oil, millions of tons	2.0	102	110
Confections, millions of tons	3.1	103	105
Canned goods, billions of standard cans	12.0	103	107
Fruit and vegetables alone	8.2	104	109
Fruit juices alone	2.4	113	113
Mineral water, millions of decaliters	118	103	109
Nonalcoholic beverages, millions of decaliters	455	104	115

While planning targets were fulfilled and production as a whole increased, production plans were not fulfilled for a number of food product groups in the assortment for which there is public demand: fermented dairy products with fruit and berries added (95 percent), cheese curd and high-fat curd (97 percent), pelmeni and rissoles (98 percent), frankfurters and small sausages (99.5 percent), and hard smoked sausage (94 percent).

Output is below plan for packaged sour cream (90 percent) and Siberian meat dumplings (95 percent).

The figures in the table below show fulfillment of targets for production of nonfood consumer goods.

	Actual Performance in the Period January-August 1988	Target Fulfillment, in Percentage	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Cotton fabrics, billions of m^2	5.4	100.5	103
Linen and hemp-jute fabrics, millions of m^2	634	100.3	102
Woolen fabrics, millions of m^2	468	100.5	103
Silk fabrics, billions m^2	1.4	102	105
Knitted products, billions of pieces	1.2	100.3	103
Hosiery, billions of pairs	1.4	101	104
Footwear, millions of pairs	536	100.1	102
Children's alone	242	101	102
Television sets, millions	6.3	97	109
Color sets alone	3.7	99	130
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	4.2	99.7	106
Radio receivers, millions	5.3	92	99
Tape recorders, millions	3.6	93	114
VCR's, thousands	43.7	100.6	180
Sewing machines, thousands	1,049	90	108
Zigzag type alone	671	100.5	107
Washing machines, millions	4.0	95	106
Vacuum cleaners, millions	3.2	99.1	109
Furniture, billions of rubles	6.2	102	107
Motorcycles, thousands	644	98	102
Bicycles (not including children's), millions	3.7	99.5	101
Automobiles, thousands	863	100.3	98
Timepieces, millions	48.9	100.6	106
Porcelainware, earthenware, and majolica ware, millions of rubles	699	102	107
Wallpaper, millions of standard rolls	371	102	111
Paper goods, millions of rubles	541	103	113
Galvanic cells and batteries for household electrical products, millions	647	96	107

Over the period January-August of this year the output of consumer goods rose 6.3 percent over the same period of last year and amounted to R217 billion.

But the growth in the output of consumer goods has mainly taken place thanks to increased production of articles marked with the code "N" and particularly fashionable products, whose prices are considerably higher than the average level of prices for similar goods. For instance, the total output of goods of light industry from enterprises of USSR Minlegprom rose 8 percent, including a 26-percent increase for goods marked "N" and a 2.4-fold increase for particularly fashionable products, whereas the output of products of other types decreased by 7 percent. Of the 49 products for children, young people, and the elderly recorded by USSR Goskomstat by principal price groups, the targeted volumes of output were not achieved for more than a third of the products, and for half the level of production dropped. Targets are not being fulfilled for the output of children's raincoats, cotton suits, trousers, shirts, chrome leather footwear, and natural fur coats.

Many enterprises producing nonfood commodities are failing to meet the targets assigned. In the machine-building complex a lag in the output of consumer goods has been permitted by one out of every three enterprises, and this is true of one out of every five in the chemical and forest products complex. The largest number of enterprises failing to fulfill the target is in USSR Minstroydormash (one out of every two), USSR Minkhimmash, USSR Mintyazhmash, USSR Minelektrotekhprom, and USSR Minselkhozmash (one out of every three).

Targets were not met for television sets (172,000 short), radio receivers (489,000), vacuum cleaners (29,000), tape recorders (258,000), refrigerators and freezers (13,000), washing machines (196,000), and sewing machines (120,000).

Agricultural

Chernigov Oblast Delivers Grain in Excess

AU1110140488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Oct 88 p 1

[G. Ivanenko report: "Grain in Excess of the Order"]

[Text] Chernigov Oblast has begun to deliver grain in excess of the plan! The oblast's farms have to date delivered more than 405,000 tonnes of recently harvested grain.

Many rayons in the oblast—including Gorodnyanskiy, Kozeletskiy, Koryukovskiy, Semenovskiy, Chernigovskiy, Ichnyanskiy, Srebnyanskiy, and other rayons—are situated deep in the forest zone where poor sandy soil prevails. Neither the frequent rains nor the dry winds blowing in the grain-forming period fortold anything good. In addition, stormy winds flattened the crops on almost two-thirds of the area sown. But success came despite all the adversities.

To contravene the poor weather conditions, the laborers of Chernigov Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes made skillful use of the harvesting and transportation complex. Everything necessary—the multishift machine operation, the well considered combination of straight-combine with swath harvesting, the reliable technical services directly in the field, the flexible motivation of labor, and solicitude for the personnel's consumer and cultural needs—was provided. And as a result, the state order was filled ahead of schedule.

At the "Avanhard" kolkhoz in Koropskiy Rayon, the Karl Marx kolkhoz in Prilukskiy Rayon, the "Shlyakh do Komunizmu" Kolkhoz in Srebnyanskiy Rayon, and the "50th Great October Anniversary" Sovkhoz in Borznyanskiy Rayon, the per-hectare yields averaged 40-51 quintals of grain, and Srebnyanskiy Rayon farmers, who had led in competitions for a number of years, harvested an average of 40 quintals per hectare.

The oblast farms are also attentive to quality: They sold the state 15,000 more tonnes of valuable grain than it was planned last year.

It is to be pointed out in particular that winter and spring crops were cultivated intensively on an area totaling 260,000 hectares.

The sales of grain to the state are continuing along with fallow plowing and soil fertilizing for spring crops.

January-August Agricultural Statistics Published

WA18200020 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 38, Sep 88 p 15

[Text] The editors have received figures on livestock raising on kolhozes and sovkhozes over the period January-August 1988.

I. Production of the Products of Animal Husbandry

Over the January-August period of this year kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country had the following results in production of the products of animal husbandry:

Indicators	January-August 1988	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Meat production (sale of livestock and poultry for slaughter, live weight), thousands of tons	13,747	104
Gross milk production, thousands of tons	61,369	104
Average milk production per dairy cow, kg	2,032	105
Hen eggs produced, millions	41,788	104
Average egg production per laying hen, eggs	157	103

Meat production was up 555,000 tons over the same period of last year. The yield of this product grew on the farms of many union republics, except Moldavia, Tajikistan, Armenia, and Estonia. In the Russian Federation the largest increase in meat production occurred on the farms of Pskov, Bryansk, Kaluga, Smolensk, Kursk, Volgograd, Rostov, Perm, Chita, Amur, and Magadan Oblasts and Karelian, Kalmyk, Kabardino-Balkar, Chechen-Ingush, Bashkir, and Buryat ASSR's.

Gross milk production over the period January-August 1988 was up 2.3 million tons from the January-August period of last year. The growth of milk production came from workers on farms in a majority of the union republics, excepting Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.

In the Russian Federation the largest increase in milk production was achieved on the farms of Murmansk, Bryansk, Ivanovo, Orel, Ryazan, Tambov, Rostov, Tomsk, and Irkutsk Oblasts and Kalmyk ASSR. A drop in milk production occurred on the farms of Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Kirov, Kuybyshev, Ulyanovsk, Orenburg, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, Maritime Kray, and the Karelian, Komi, Chuvash, Udmurt, Tatar, and Tuva ASSR's.

Egg production on kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased by 1.6 billion in the January-August 1988 period as compared to the same period of last year. Egg production increased on the farms of almost all the union republics, except Armenia and Turkmenistan.

II. Purchases of the Products of Animal Husbandry on Farms of All Categories

Type of Product Purchased	Purchased Over the Period January-August 1988	January-August 1988/ January-August 1987, in Percentage
Livestock and poultry (live weight), thousands of tons	14,326	105
Milk, thousands of tons	55,290	104
Eggs, billions	39	103

The country's volume of sales of livestock and poultry to the state over the first 8 months of 1988 rose 652,000 tons over the same period of last year. There was a drop in the sale of livestock and poultry on farms in Georgia (4 percent), Tajikistan and Armenia (3 percent), and Estonia (0.9 percent).

There were lower purchases of livestock and poultry on the farms of Astrakhan Oblast, Yakutsk ASSR, Orenburg Oblast, and Krasnodar Kray.

Purchases of milk and dairy products over the first 8 months of 1988 rose 2,189,000 tons. Sales of milk to the state increased on the farms of all union republics, except Estonia and Tajikistan. Milk sales dropped in Russian Federation on the farms of Arkhangelsk and Kuybyshev Oblasts, Udmurt ASSR, Chelyabinsk and Kirov Oblasts, Komi ASSR, Maritime Kray, Ulyanovsk Oblast, Tatar and Karelian ASSR's, Vologda Oblast, and certain other oblasts. There were substantial increases in milk purchases on the farms of Murmansk and Ivanovo Oblasts, Kalmyk ASSR, and Penza, Rostov, Irkutsk, Kurgan, Tomsk, Orel, Ryazan, and a number of other oblasts.

Sales of eggs to the state over the period January-August 1988 increased by 1.1 billion over the same period of last year. Sales of eggs to the state increased on the farms of all union republics, except Armenia and Latvia.

III. Production and Purchases of Products of Animal Husbandry by Union Republic

	January-August 1988/January-August 1987, in Percentage					
	Production			Purchases		
	Meat	Milk	Eggs	Livestock and Poultry	Milk	Eggs
USSR	104	104	104	105	104	103
RSFSR	105	103	105	106	103	104
Non-Chernozem Zone alone	105	103	105	106	102	104
Ukrainian SSR	102	106	100.8	103	107	100.1
Belorussian SSR	107	106	104	107	106	102
Uzbek SSR	109	105	111	102	104	111
Kazakh SSR	108	103	100.9	110	104	103
Georgian SSR	117	99.4	100.3	96	101	100.3
Azerbaijan SSR	102	99.8	106	102	102	104
Lithuanian SSR	100.4	103	109	100.8	102	108
Moldavian SSR	99	108	106	100.9	109	103
Latvian SSR	101	101	101	102	100.7	99.9
Kirghiz SSR	104	102	108	115	102	106
Tajik SSR	98	100.4	110	97	99.5	113
Armenian SSR	99	99.8	96	97	102	96
Turkmen SSR	104	104	99.8	104	103	101
Estonian SSR	99	101	107	99.1	99	104

IV. Livestock Population

As of 1 September 1988 the cattle population on kolkhozes and sovkhozes was 95.9 million, or 1.7 million fewer than on the same date last year. The number of dairy cows was 28.7 million, or 342,000 fewer. The number of swine was 60.5 million head, a drop of 400,000. The number of sheep and goats was 133.1 million (or an increase of 700,000). There was a 1.8-million increase in the number of head of poultry, which now number 811.2 million.

Scientific

Shuttle Launch Set Within 'Next Two Months'

BK1010134188 Hong Kong AFP in English 1333 GMT 10 Oct 88

[Text] New Delhi, Oct 10 (AFP)—The Soviet Union is to launch a reusable space shuttle in the next two months, a Soviet space scientist quoted by the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) said Monday.

Victor Legostayev from the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos made the announcement at the 39th Congress of the International Astronautics Federation in progress in Bangalore, southern India, PTI said.

Mr Legostayev stated that the Soviet Union would use the world's biggest rocket, the Energia, for launching its first shuttle mission, the news agency reported.

Mr Legostayev was further quoted as saying that the 110-tonne-shuttle, designed to orbit in an attitude of 250 kilometres (156 miles), would be used with or without a crew.

But the first two trial flights would be unmanned.

The shuttle, which the Soviet scientist said differed from that of the U.S., reportedly without spelling out the differences, could be used to service Soviet space stations in future.

The Energia rocket had a lift-off weight of 2,400 tonnes. It could carry a 100-tonne payload and put in low earth orbit, Dr. Legostayev told the congress.

Launch of Cosmos 1,975 Satellite Announced

LD1110160688 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 11 TASS—Yet another satellite in the Cosmos series, the Cosmos 1975, was launched in the Soviet Union today by a Tsiklon booster rocket. It carries scientific equipment to continue space research. The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters. Initial orbital period—97.8 minutes; maximum distance from the earth's surface—679 km; minimum distance—649 km; and orbital inclination—82.5 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment the satellite carries a radio system for precision measurements of orbit elements and a radio telemetric system to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Austria Signs Joint Space Flight Agreement

LD1210084588 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 12 Oct 88

[Text] Moscow October 12 TASS—An agreement on a joint Soviet-Austrian space flight has been signed between the Soviet Union and Austria. It is planned that an Austrian representative will participate in a space expedition to the Soviet orbital station on a commercial basis among an internationalist crew. The implementation of the programme is scheduled for the end of 1991 and the beginning of 1992.

The scientists of the two countries, a TASS correspondent was told in the Glavkosmos of the USSR (the chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research), have already begun to discuss a programme for possible joint research experiments.

An eight-day flight of an Austrian cosmonaut will cost approximately ten million dollars. This is the cost of training, the cosmonaut's stay aboard the orbital station and the flight on spaceship. The amount may be reduced if the Austrian side suggests and implements an interest programme of research experiments in orbit.

The Soviet Union's commercial cooperation with other countries in space research was started by the launching of the Indian IRS-1A satellite which was put into an orbit by the Soviet Vostok booster rocket on March 17, 1988.

Negotiations with a number of other countries on peaceful cooperation in the study and exploration of outer space on a commercial basis are under way. Joint work in the field of space technology together with the leading firms of the Federal Republic of Germany and France is contemplated, in particular.